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EARLY YORKSHIRE CHARTERS









EARLY  
YORKSHIRE CHARTERS

VOL. IV

THE HONOUR OF RICHMOND

PART I

BASED ON THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE LATE  
WILLIAM FARRER

AND EDITED BY

CHARLES TRAVIS CLAY, F.S.A.

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## PREFACE

The three volumes of Dr. William Farrer's *Early Yorkshire Charters*, which he printed privately in the years 1914-16, are of the first importance for the feudal history of many parts of the county during the period succeeding the Conquest until the close of the twelfth century. They include the fees of the tenants-in-chief, arranged alphabetically down to that of Mortemer. Dr. Farrer had collected a great number of texts of charters for the remainder of the work, which he originally intended to complete in four volumes, and later to extend to six. After his death in August 1924 the Yorkshire Archæological Society was fortunate enough to acquire the manuscript material for the unprinted volumes which Farrer had prepared and laid aside. And, as possession entails responsibility, the Record Committee of the Society has considered some appropriate plan for editing this material for public use. In order to preserve a measure of uniformity in size and binding with the three volumes already printed, it has been decided to start an Extra Series of the existing Record Series, to be devoted primarily to a continuation of *Early Yorkshire Charters*, based on the Farrer manuscripts, and in the second place to material of a similar description.

For reasons which will be noted in the Introduction priority has been given to the charters relating to the Honour of Richmond. These will be printed in two parts, each with a separate index. The first part forms the present volume, which includes the charters of the lords of the honour and those relating to the demesne lands in Yorkshire; and the second part will include the charters relating to the fees of the Yorkshire tenants. It has been suggested that the Richmond charters should be followed by a volume dealing with the Honour of Skipton and the Paynel Fees.

Full use of Farrer's three volumes has never been possible in the absence of indexes. The preparation of a consolidated index, both of names and subjects, is a task of immense complexity. But progress is being made; and it is hoped that it will be possible to print it as a future volume of the Extra Series.

With this new enterprise we desire to associate the names of William Farrer, to the inspiration of whose work it is principally due, and of William Thomas Lancaster, a worker in the same field, whose benefactions to the Society have facilitated the cost of publication.

JOHN PARKER  
J. W. WALKER  
CHARLES CLAY



## INTRODUCTION

### § 1.

In Professor Tait's memoir of William Farrer, which was printed in 1925 in the fortieth volume of *The English Historical Review*, a reason is given, in addition to the increased cost of publication, which prompted the discontinuance of the *Early Yorkshire Charters*. This was a shifting of Farrer's main interest, during the last years of his life, from the texts and annotations of charters relating to one county in particular to a general view of the Norman distribution of baronial estates throughout England. This plan was the basis of his last work—the three volumes of *Honors and Knights' Fees*. And, indeed, those volumes give the clearest proof that, at all events with regard to the more important and wide-spread honours, their history cannot be adequately understood if the standpoint is merely local. On the other hand, students of medieval diplomatic, who owe so large a debt to Farrer's three volumes of *Early Yorkshire Charters*, have not unnaturally regarded their discontinuance with disappointment. It was thought, therefore, that if an attempt were made to continue those three volumes, based on the texts of charters which he had collected for the purpose, and if an honour were selected, the lands of which extended far beyond the bounds of Yorkshire, it might be possible to combine in some small measure the advantages of his two undertakings.

The honour of Richmond is well-suited for an attempt of this kind. With lands in at least eight counties, owing the service of castle-guard at the *caput honoris* of Richmond, the honour, if primarily of Yorkshire interest, formed an important entity in a large part of England lying in a south-easterly direction from the borders of Durham to the vicinity of London. Many tenants of the honour had scattered holdings, which, regarded collectively, often provide clues for manorial descents in different counties. The Steward's fee lay in Yorkshire, Cambridgeshire and Norfolk, in which latter county the lords of Middleham possessed an interest. The Chamberlain's fee included lands in Yorkshire, Cambridgeshire and Lincolnshire; the Musters fee in Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire; and the Furneaux fee in Yorkshire and Cambridgeshire, with an outlying manor in Hampshire. Yorkshire and Lincolnshire are mutually concerned with the history of such fees as those of Lascelles, de la Mare, and Conan son of Ellis.

It is a fortunate circumstance that to the texts of the Yorkshire charters relating to the honour, now in the Society's possession, was united the manuscript material which Farrer had prepared for a Richmond section in a future volume of *Honors and Knights' Fees*. This was certainly not left in a finished state; and an important part, comprising the Chamberlain's and Furneaux



fees and almost the whole of the Lascelles fee, is missing. But it contains an immense mass of material for the history of the fees of the honour throughout England down to the fourteenth century; and the principles which Farrer adopted for the arrangement and numbering of the fees are clear. This arrangement corresponds in the main with the different sections into which he had divided the charters relating to the Yorkshire portions of the fees in his Richmond manuscript for *Early Yorkshire Charters*; and it was evident that the manuscript for *Honors and Knights' Fees* would prove of indispensable value when the charters were being arranged and annotated. Moreover the manuscript contained a detailed account, though not in a final form, of the history of the honour and of the early lords.<sup>1</sup>

Another reason which suggested the choice of the honour of Richmond was the fact that the present editor had been invited to collaborate in the preparation of material for the history of the early lords of the honour for a future volume of the new edition of *The Complete Peerage*. For such a history a survey of the charters of the lords, relating to all parts of the honour, was desirable. The editors of that work were kind enough to encourage the full use of any material which was being collected, so that it would be possible for the Yorkshire Archæological Society to print a far greater number of texts of charters of the lords of the honour than were to be found in Farrer's manuscripts, where the charters relate to Yorkshire only, and also to base an account of the lords of the honour, a necessary accompaniment to an edition of the texts, on the material which was being arranged for the Richmond article in *The Complete Peerage*. At the same time it was recognized that the preparation of that article would be facilitated if a printed edition of the texts and a detailed index were available.

A final reason for the choice may be noticed. The historic associations and natural beauty of that part of the honour known as Richmondshire are renowned. Among the castles and monastic houses, established before the close of the twelfth century<sup>2</sup> and remaining as historic monuments to-day, are the castles of Richmond, Bowes and Middleham; the abbeys of Jervaulx, Coverham, Easby and Egglestone; and the priories of Ellerton and Marrick. Among the early Yorkshire tenants of the honour were the founders of the families of FitzAlan of Bedale and FitzHugh of Ravensworth; Middleham passed to the Nevilles by marriage with a descendant of Ribald, brother of count Alan; the heiress of Tanfield married a Marmion; and the present possessor of the manor of Kirklington is a lineal descendant of a Domesday tenant. Such are examples of the intrinsic interest of the early history of Richmondshire, a land whose scenery has been a source of inspiration for the art of Turner and the melody of Walter Scott.

<sup>1</sup> For brevity the two MSS. are quoted in footnotes in the present volumes as E.Y.C. MS. and H.K.F. MS.

<sup>2</sup> Actually Coverham abbey was not moved from Swainby to its present site before the early years of the thirteenth century.

## § 2.

For a comprehensive account of the early lords of the honour it was evident that material from Breton sources was of special importance. Connections between Brittany and our own country—and from Britain the name was derived—had existed from early times. Those connections were strengthened and developed as a result of the Norman Conquest. A Breton contingent took part in the invasion, led by Alan Rufus who became the first lord of what was afterwards known as the honour of Richmond. He and his successors, members of a younger branch of the ducal house of Brittany, were Breton counts; count Stephen inherited extensive lands in Brittany; and in the middle of the twelfth century the honour and the duchy were united in the hand of Conan his grandson. Many tenants of the honour, of which the family of Musters is a conspicuous example, were of Breton origin; and Boston was a town of Breton creation.<sup>1</sup> For some years the honour of Richmond was known as the honour of Brittany; and to the end of the fourteenth century the histories of the honour and the duchy are intimately related. Even after the earldom of Richmond was finally separated from the duchy, the dukes of Brittany, as appears from the legends on their seals, prolonged an ineffective claim by styling themselves earls of Richmond.<sup>2</sup>

Nor was the Breton influence in the age succeeding the Conquest confined to the honour of Richmond. Judhael of Totnes, Geoffrey de Wirce (taking his name from La Guerche near Rennes), Oger the Breton, Eudo son of Spirewic, Alfred of Lincoln, Hascuit Musard and Tihel de Helion were important tenants-in-chief in different parts of England at the Domesday survey.<sup>3</sup> With the honour of Wallingford, at a later date, is associated the name of Brian FitzCount; the Aubigny lords of Belvoir had a Breton origin;<sup>4</sup> and from Alan son of Flaald of Dol, who acquired his English lands from king Henry I, were descended the FitzAlan earls of Arundel and the Stewart kings of Scotland.<sup>5</sup>

The connection with Brittany which the charter evidence provides is of interest from several points of view. Charters of the lords of the honour of Richmond were issued in Brittany which dealt not only with Breton possessions, but with lands of the English honour. Considered in conjunction with charters issued in England, it is possible to give some kind of chronological sequence to the series as a whole. They afford useful clues to the movements of the lords from one country to the other, and the names of the witnesses often show the presence of English tenants overseas.

<sup>1</sup> See F. M. Stenton, *First Century of English Feudalism*, p. 26, where some examples of Breton personal names in Lincolnshire are recorded.

<sup>2</sup> *Complete Peerage*, 1st ed., vi, 355n.

<sup>3</sup> These examples are taken from Stenton, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-5, where descriptive details are given.

<sup>4</sup> *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, *Duke of Rutland*, iv, pp. 106-7.

<sup>5</sup> Stenton, *op. cit.*, p. 28n, quoting Round, *Peerage and Family History*, pp. 115-46.

If it is probable that count Stephen's interests lay principally in Brittany and that his visits to this country were comparatively short, the reverse is certainly true in the case of his son Alan. There is evidence to suppose that as a younger son he had been destined to inherit the English possessions of his father, which indeed he may have been administering several years before his father's death.<sup>1</sup> But in the closing years of his life he crossed to Brittany, where he died. He issued a Breton charter dated there in 1145; and his important charter of restoration to Robert de Musters, a tenant of the honour of Richmond, which was issued at Ploërmel, can therefore be dated very closely.<sup>2</sup> During his visit to Brittany he had with him Conan, archdeacon of Richmond, and Torfin son of Robert, lord of Manfield.<sup>3</sup>

A survey is necessary of all the available charters of earl Conan, issued both in England and Brittany, before their limits of date can be assigned with any degree of satisfaction. Shortly after his successful expedition to Brittany in the autumn of 1156, when he defeated his stepfather and replaced him as duke, earl Conan returned to England where he issued a series of charters which can be dated as earlier than April 1158.<sup>4</sup> In that month he was in Brittany;<sup>5</sup> and during the same year he issued there another series, which includes the restoration to Alan son of Roald of the constableness of Richmond in succession to his father.<sup>6</sup> Shortly afterwards he was in England, and then again in Brittany in 1162.<sup>7</sup> His last recorded appearance in England was in 1164, when he was present at the Council of Clarendon. The terms of his later charters show that some were issued before, and some after, his surrender of the duchy in 1166.

His charters issued in Brittany throw light on his entourage. It is evident that some of his English tenants often accompanied him overseas. Alan the constable appears in Brittany until the closing years of earl Conan's life. The faithful twins, who can certainly be identified as Richard and Alan, sons of Lambert de Multon the Lincolnshire tenant,<sup>8</sup> and were perhaps two of the household knights, were in constant attendance. Apart from household officials, Walter son of Acaris, Henry son of Hervey (of Ravensworth), Eudo de Mumby, Alan de Bassingbourn, and Ralph son of Stephen of Holland, who were English tenants or sons of English tenants, all occur as witnesses to charters issued in Brittany. Moreover, Henry son of Hervey and the twins were given lands in the duchy.<sup>9</sup>

Such considerations suggested that it would be an advantage to include some notice of the Breton charters in addition to the texts which relate to the honour of Richmond. Accordingly all

<sup>1</sup> This deduction is mainly based on a Breton charter of count Stephen, dated 1123, in which it is expressly stated that his son Alan was then in England (no. 7); see also p. 88*n*.

<sup>2</sup> Charter no. 26.

<sup>3</sup> Nos. 25, 26.

<sup>4</sup> No. 44.

<sup>5</sup> No. 44.

<sup>6</sup> No. 69.

<sup>7</sup> No. 69.

<sup>8</sup> Note to no. 30.

<sup>9</sup> Nos. 25, 26.

<sup>5</sup> No. 44.

<sup>7</sup> No. 69.

<sup>9</sup> No. 58, and note to no. 30.



available charters relating to lands in Brittany, issued by the lords of the honour before the death of earl Conan in 1171, are printed here in calendar form, with abstracts of their substance in English and the attestation and dating clauses in the original Latin. They include two charters of count Stephen, one of earl Alan, and about twenty of earl Conan. For these I am indebted to Mr. L. C. Loyd, who originally collected them for the purpose of the *Complete Peerage*, to which reference is made in the preceding section of this introduction. A considerable number of Breton charters, issued by duke Geoffrey and duchess Constance, could have been added; but their interest is almost entirely Breton, and they only rarely concern or prove useful on chronological grounds for the history of the honour. They have therefore been excluded, with the exception of the charter of duchess Constance which mentions a rent from the earldom of Richmond among the endowments of her abbey of Villeneuve.<sup>1</sup>

### § 3.

Besides the charters issued by the lords of the honour it was necessary to consider charters issued by the tenants. Perhaps an ideal plan would be to print a collection of these for all the lands of the honour throughout England.<sup>2</sup> But such a scheme, even if it could be put into execution, would postpone the completion of the present work indefinitely. It was therefore decided that such charters should be restricted to the lands of the honour which lay in Yorkshire. A collection of these was already available in Farrer's manuscript, which could be used as a basis, with the addition of a few extra charters which had escaped his attention or had come to light since his collection was formed. The greater part of this collection related to the various fees of the honour which were held by knight-service and owed the service of castle-guard at Richmond castle; and with the aid of the manuscript for *Honors and Knights' Fees*, which has already been mentioned, it appeared possible to assign the charters, the greater number of which had been arranged by Farrer, to their appropriate fees. There remained several charters relating to lands of the honour in Yorkshire which had not apparently been subinfeudated for military service, either demesne lands of the honour given to religious houses by the lords or lands held by lay tenants by some form of non-military service. It seemed convenient to group these together in a separate chapter.

The scheme for the present work is therefore as follows: In Chapter I are printed the charters of the lords of the honour down to the death of duchess Constance in 1201. These relate to all parts of the honour in England, and they include abstracts of

<sup>1</sup> No. 85.

<sup>2</sup> As an example of the wealth of material for such a collection, especially for the Lincolnshire lands of the honour, attention may be directed to numerous original charters printed by Professor Stenton in his *Danelaw Charters* (British Academy).

charters relating to lands in Brittany. An appendix is added giving some references to other charters, of which the texts are not known to be available. Chapter II gives the descent of the early lords of the honour, with appendixes which include notes on their seals, on their descriptive styles—an attempt to investigate the significance of the word ‘comes’—on the honorial baronage and the officials of the honour, and on the finances of the honour while it was in the king’s hand at periods between 1171 and 1200. In Chapter III are printed the charters relating to the demesne lands of the honour in Yorkshire. Chapter IV will be an introductory chapter giving a general survey of the various knights’ fees, based on the twelfth-century returns; and in Chapter V will be printed the charters relating to the fees of a date generally not later than 1200, each section being prefaced by an account of the geographical composition of the fee and of the family or families who held it.<sup>1</sup> The holders of the honorial offices, and the extent to which the hereditary element prevailed, will be considered in a final chapter.

After the material had been examined and arranged it was evident that it would be a convenience to print it in two parts. The annotations to the tenants’ charters could be facilitated if the charters of the lords were already in print and indexed; the total amount of material was unduly large for one volume; and if the work were divided into two the first part could be issued at a reasonably early date. The first part, therefore, which constitutes the present volume, comprises Chapters I to III, the remaining chapters being postponed for the second part. As, however, the number of charters relating to the fees of the honour, to be printed in Chapter V, will exceed two hundred and forty, the two parts will be of unequal size; but it was thought inadvisable to break the unity of that chapter by spreading it over the two volumes.

One of the difficulties in editing the charters contained in the Farrer manuscripts is the doubt as to how far they were left in a final form ready for print. Farrer employed several copyists, and it is evident that their work was done with exemplary care. But the texts of several charters are marked for collation with those from other sources, and in some cases doubtful points had certainly been left unsettled. It was thought advisable, therefore, to compare the transcripts with the actual manuscripts from which they were copied, and to collate them with other available texts. This has been done in the case of most of the Farrer texts for the honour of Richmond, the only important omission being the charters taken from the Chartulary of St. Mary’s, York, which is in the possession

<sup>1</sup> This explains such a reference as Chapter V, §6 which will be found in several footnotes in the present volume.

of the Dean and Chapter;<sup>1</sup> and the phrase "Farrer MS." in the source of a text has been restricted to such transcripts as have not been checked with their original manuscripts. Nor is it easy to know how far the dates which Farrer assigned to the charters, many of which were clearly tentative, were subject to a final revision; and certainly the work of annotating the texts was far from complete. On both these points it seemed best to proceed independently, making full use, however, of his notes and references, which have been of the greatest assistance.

#### § 4.

A list of the manuscript sources from which the texts have been taken is given in the first index. It must be recognized that they are of varying quality.

Original charters give the most authentic evidence of the terms of a gift and of the witnesses who were present. Of original charters issued by the lords of the honour, which are printed in this volume, there are one of count Stephen (no. 9), two of earl Alan (nos. 17, 27), seven of earl Conan (nos. 31, 34, 35, 46, 47, 55, 64), one of duke Geoffrey (no. 80), and two original letters of duchess Constance and her second husband Ranulf, earl of Chester (nos. 83, 84). Collotype illustrations, which both for artistic and palæographical reasons are usually more satisfactory than printed transcripts, have been made of these, together with one of a charter reciting an early gift made by earl Conan (no. 28), and another of a charter issued by countess Bertha, widow of earl Alan (no. 57). A collotype of another charter of earl Conan, dealing with lands in Brittany (no. 58), is given in Professor Stenton's *Facsimiles of Early Charters*, published by the Northamptonshire Record Society. It was hoped that a third original charter of earl Alan would be available, but for reasons given on p. 20 this hope had to be abandoned. It must be realized that even original charters are sometimes susceptible of amendment, or contain evidence of carelessness on the part of the scribes. Thus the word *manachis* in no. 17 seems to be merely an error for *monachis*. *Petro petro Botel'* in no. 35 is obviously intended to represent *Petro Boterel*. And although no. 55 is an original charter there is some evidence to warrant the suggestion that *Erinaldo camerario* is a slip for *Erinaldo clerico*. So far as the subject matter is concerned a contemporary copy or a draft has almost the same value as an original. Earl Conan's charter to the men of the soke of Gayton (no. 30) is an example of what was probably a draft; and a collotype illustration is included for purposes of comparison.

<sup>1</sup> With regard to that chartulary I am indebted to Professor A. Hamilton Thompson for checking one or two points in Farrer's copies which suggested an element of doubt, chiefly the names of certain witnesses. Comparison has also been made with the extensive copies and abstracts which Dodsworth made in his vol. clvi. In many cases, as noted below, the text can be compared with that in the chartulary in the British Museum (Harl. MS. 236).



It is when a copy is subsequently made and, whether in manuscript or printed form, it remains as the sole surviving evidence of a lost original that the degree of accuracy and completeness must often be a matter of conjecture; and in a collection such as this it is natural that a large proportion of the texts are derived from copies. With regard to copies in manuscripts which have survived, those which are entered on the Patent Rolls (nos. 2, 4, 8, 19, 33, 101) are, with one exception, no doubt adequately accurate copies of the originals which were then being inspected.<sup>1</sup> Count Stephen's charter to Rumburgh priory, with its full list of witnesses (no. 10), which is taken from a copy in a roll of transcripts in a thirteenth-century hand, is a text that can be trusted without reserve, except for the spelling of one or two proper names. The same may be said of earl Conan's charter to the men of the soke of Holland (no. 30A), which was evidently copied in Lincolnshire from an original then available; and the fact that two of the charters from the Dodsworth MSS. were copied by Dodsworth himself from originals which had been saved from St. Mary's Tower (nos. 13, 65) is a sufficient proof of their first-rate quality. But, for the most part, the texts of manuscript copies are taken from a number of monastic chartularies; and it is particularly these which give rise to varying degrees of value.

The Easby Chartulary (Egerton MS. 2827)<sup>2</sup> is of special value for the history of the honour in Yorkshire, especially for the Constable's fee, in view of the foundation of the abbey by Roald, constable of Richmond, in the middle of the twelfth century. To the present volume it has contributed one charter of earl Alan (no. 22), six of earl Conan (nos. 36-41), one of duchess Constance (no. 82), one of her first husband duke Geoffrey (no. 81), and two relating to the canons' grange in Middleton Tyas (nos. 110, 112). The manuscript was compiled towards the end of the thirteenth century, with many additions of a later date. Unfortunately, except in a very small number of cases, no witnesses to the charters were copied by the Easby scribe. Nor are the formulas of address usually given in full.<sup>3</sup> Apart from these two points, the first of which is of particular importance for the purposes of dating, the

<sup>1</sup> The exception is no. 19, as to which see the annotation thereto and also some observations at the end of this section of the introduction. In no. 4 some of the proper names were evidently not correctly copied.

<sup>2</sup> This was acquired by the British Museum in 1900, having previously been at Burton Constable in Holderness. It was unknown to, or at all events not used by the editors of the *Monasticon Anglicanum* in 1830. Through the generosity of Mr. G. W. Waine a complete photostatic reproduction has been made, bound in four volumes, and presented to the Library of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society—a gift which has been of particular assistance to the present editor. A printed edition is greatly to be desired; but the manuscript consists of 364 closely-written folios, and would present a formidable task. A large number of its twelfth-century charters will be printed in the second part of the present work.

<sup>3</sup> Thus of earl Conan's six charters only one has the address given in full. The full text is often of importance for a knowledge of the honorial officials who were being addressed; see on this point the evidence collected in Appendix D to Chapter II.



subject matter of the texts shows every sign that they were faithfully copied from the originals in the abbey's possession.

In estimating the value of a chartulary the best criterion is a comparison of the chartulary copies with the original charters from which they were made. A good example of this is provided by the material relating to Kirkstead abbey. Professor Stenton has printed in his *Danelaw Charters* between seventy and eighty original charters from the abbey muniments; and he is of opinion that the chartulary (Cotton MS. Vespasian E. xviii), of which the earliest portions were compiled about the year 1200, is of competent workmanship.<sup>1</sup> In the present volume there are seven Kirkstead charters, five of which are originals (nos. 28, 31, 46, 64, 80). Two of these are printed in the *Monasticon Anglicanum* from the chartulary with much smaller lists of witnesses. Indeed, it must be recognized that the witnesses entered in the chartulary are not always given in full. Thus one original charter (no. 64), which has no less than nineteen witnesses, was copied into the chartulary with only four.

Of far inferior value is the fifteenth-century chartulary of Rufford (Harl. MS. 1063). In editing a series of original Rufford charters in the same volume Professor Stenton observes that the workmanship of the chartulary is very bad, and that numerous charters have been gravely distorted by the copyist.<sup>2</sup> Two charters in the present volume (nos. 14, 32) come from this source, and they both illustrate the justice of this stricture. In the first the suspicious name *Bosternus* is very likely an error for *Roscelinus*; and in the second, which begins *Comes dux* instead of *Conanus dux*, the spelling of the witnesses' names is not free from error.

The fifteenth-century chartulary of Fountains was compiled in five volumes, of which four remain. Three of these are now in the British Museum (Cotton MS. Tiberius C. xii; Add. MS. 40009; and Add. MS. 37770), and one in the John Rylands Library (Latin MS. 224). Their contents are well-known in the excellent edition, in English abstract form, privately printed in 1915 by the late Mr. W. T. Lancaster. In his introduction, while pointing out that the names as transcribed were not in all cases copied with scrupulous accuracy from such originals as he had examined, he gives it a high place among Yorkshire chartularies, in view of the fact that the names of the witnesses and the documents themselves were copied in full.<sup>3</sup> The charters from this source, which are printed in the present volume, have valuable lists of witnesses. The text of one of them (no. 18) was compared by Farrer with that of the original charter, with which it corresponds; and its list of witnesses is far more complete than the list given in another Fountains manuscript from which Dodsworth made his copy. It may, however, be noted that with regard to another (no. 56) there is some reason for suspecting that the Fountains scribe wrote *Rogerus* in error for *Alanus constabularius* in the list of witnesses.

<sup>1</sup> *Danelaw Charters*, p. 103.

<sup>2</sup> *op. cit.*, p. 261.

<sup>3</sup> *Fountains Chartulary*, ed. Lancaster, p. viii.

The Chartulary of St. Leonard's, York, one volume of which is in the British Museum (Cotton MS. Nero D. iii), and the other in the Bodleian Library (MS. Rawlinson B. 455), these being extensively used by Farrer in his volumes of *Early Yorkshire Charters*, is another manuscript of first-class importance. The same may be said of the Rievaulx Chartulary (Cotton MS. Julius D. i), which has been printed by the Surtees Society. For the honour of Richmond it supplies an interesting series of charters relating to East Bolton (nos. 91-96). The texts in the printed edition are often robbed of important passages, regarded as of common form.<sup>1</sup> They have been completed from and compared with the original manuscript.

Use has been made of several chartularies of St. Mary's, York. One is in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of York; another, in two volumes, in the John Rylands Library (Latin MS. 220 and 221); a third in the British Museum (Harl. MS. 236); and a fragment, consisting of nine folios, of a fourth which was formerly in the Hatton library, and is now bound up in MS. Dodsworth lxxvi in the Bodleian Library. From these sources numerous charters were printed by Farrer in his *Early Yorkshire Charters*, and a great many are included in his unprinted manuscripts. It would be unwise to attempt any assessment of the relative value of the chartularies, or to suggest how far they are duplicated, without a detailed examination. Here it is only necessary to note that often the texts in the Dean and Chapter chartulary are repeated in Harl. MS. 236,<sup>2</sup> and that the Hatton fragment is of special importance for the honour of Richmond. From the latter two important charters relating to Escrick and the Lascelles family (nos. 103, 104), and one relating to the chapel of Kneeton (no. 109), are printed in the present volume; and several more, including some of an exceptionally early date, will be printed among the charters of the tenants of the honour. It is evident, however, that in this particular chartulary the lists of witnesses were usually greatly abbreviated.<sup>3</sup>

One other manuscript requires special mention. This is the copy in MS. Dodsworth lxiii of a missing portion of the Byland Chartulary. The incomplete chartulary is in the British Museum (Egerton MS. 2823). The greater part of this missing portion was printed from Dodsworth's collections in the *Monasticon Anglicanum* in the accounts of Byland and Jervaulx abbeys. In addition to the material relating more specifically to Byland itself it includes a

<sup>1</sup> On this point Farrer notes that in several documents, where this practice has been adopted in printed editions, "the text has been so effectively relieved of 'common form' that it is impossible to say whether the document is a grant, a confirmation, or a release." (Introduction to *E.Y.C.*, vol. i, p. viii).

<sup>2</sup> *E.g.*, the three Gilmonby charters (nos. 106-8). A detailed calendar of Harl. MS. 236 is printed in *Mon. Ang.*, iii, pp. 540-1.

<sup>3</sup> There is a calendar of the charters, witnesses being omitted, in Turner and Coxe, *Cal. of Charters and Rolls in the Bodleian Library*, pp. 693-8. Photostats of the folios have been made and will shortly be placed in the Library of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society.

narrative of the foundation and early vicissitudes of Jervaulx which, originally established at Fors, was subsequently moved to East Witton. This narrative forms the basis of every subsequent account of the abbey's history. It is evident that it must be regarded with caution. There are certain chronological difficulties which are not easy to resolve; and there is an obvious confusion in some passages between earl Alan and his son earl Conan.<sup>1</sup> The facts given in the narrative were doubtless based on a series of traditions which were historically true; but their faulty arrangement and occasional distortion make the resulting picture in its chronological sequence an obvious target for criticism. Important, however, in the present connection is the fact that the narrative is interspersed with the texts of several charters. From this source, and from this source alone,<sup>2</sup> come two charters of earl Alan (nos. 23, 24), and two of earl Conan (nos. 29, 67); and others will be printed among the charters of the Ravensworth fee in the next volume. The texts are far from satisfactory, and it is unfortunate that the witnesses' names were not copied in full. But there is no reason to doubt the general authenticity of the charters, the originals of which were probably at the disposal of the compiler of the narrative.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, there is satisfactory evidence that two of them were copied from genuine originals. On 12 Feb. 1227-8 the king confirmed to Jervaulx abbey two charters issued by earl Alan and earl Conan,<sup>4</sup> and it is reasonable to suppose that the originals were then the subject of inspection. These, although not given *verbatim*, include several clauses and details precisely corresponding with two of the charters entered in the narrative, and printed in the present volume as nos. 24 and 29.<sup>5</sup>

In passing to printed sources—that is to say, printed texts of original charters which are now lost, or of copies in a manuscript which either has disappeared or is not known to be available—the first collection to be noticed is that relating to Marrick priory, which was founded by Roger de Aske in the middle of

<sup>1</sup> See notes to charter no. 23, where some of the difficulties are noticed.

<sup>2</sup> It may be noted that in a Fountains MS., recently acquired by the British Museum (Egerton MS. 3053), which contains transcripts made at Fountains in the thirteenth century of charters relating to Aldburgh, there is entered in a fifteenth-century hand on the dorse of the last folio (f. 20d) what appears to be a version of earl Conan's charter to Jervaulx (no. 29), with no witnesses. The spelling of some of the place-names is, perhaps, superior to that given in MS. Dodsworth from the Byland Chartulary, and others are added, with what authority is uncertain. It is possible, but on the whole unlikely, that it purports to be a copy of a separate charter issued by earl Conan. This Fountains MS. was noticed by Mr. Brown in *Yorkshire Deeds*, iii, p. vii; see also *British Museum Quarterly* for June, 1932, p. 16.

<sup>3</sup> In one case, in the charter of Hervey son of Acaris, there seems to be an interpolated passage.

<sup>4</sup> *Mon. Ang.*, v, 576 from the Charter Roll.

<sup>5</sup> A proof that some of the other charters were copied from existing originals is the statement in the confirmation charter of John of Brittany, earl of Richmond (the original of which was in St. Mary's Tower) that he had inspected the charters of the monastery of Byland with the seals of the abbots of Savigny; the texts of two of them are given in his charter, and they correspond with those entered in the narrative (*Mon. Ang.*, v, 575).



the twelfth century. In 1838 a large collection of over a hundred and twenty original charters relating to the priory, many of them of an earlier date than 1200, was in the possession of Mr. Martin Farquhar Tupper of Lincoln's Inn.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Tupper, well-known as the author of 'Proverbial Philosophy,'<sup>2</sup> is said to have been maternally descended from one of the former possessors of the priory and lands of Marrick.<sup>3</sup> The collection was printed in record type in the fifth volume of *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica* (1838). The fact that the charters were copied by 'T.S.,' who can evidently be identified as Thomas Stapleton, is a proof of the accuracy of the work. On 3 June 1933 a letter was inserted in *Notes and Queries* in the hope that the present ownership of the collection could be ascertained, unfortunately without any fruitful result. It would be a matter of great satisfaction if the collection could be re-discovered and photographs made of the twelfth-century documents. In the present volume there is one charter of earl Conan (no. 53),<sup>4</sup> the text of which is taken from Stapleton's printed copy; and several more early charters from the same collection will be printed with the charters of the tenants of the honour, especially in the section relating to the sub-fee of Aske.<sup>5</sup>

To students of the honour of Richmond the edition of the *Registrum* (Cotton MS. Faustina B. vii), issued by Roger Gale in 1722, with its accompanying appendixes, is of pre-eminent importance. In his appendixes he printed a large number of charters derived from various sources. In the present volume there are nine charters of the lords of the honour earlier than earl Conan's death in 1171, of which printed texts are given by Gale. Five of these are known from existing originals or manuscript sources (nos. 19, 27, 31, 55, 64). But three are taken from originals which were in the possession of the mayor and aldermen—or the mayor and burgesses—of Richmond in 1665, and are no longer in existence (nos. 20, 21, 50).<sup>6</sup> Whether they were actually copied from the originals by Gale, or taken by him from copies which were made as a result of Dugdale's visitation of Yorkshire in that year, is uncertain;<sup>7</sup> but the copies included here are from Gale's printed texts.<sup>8</sup> The remaining charter raises a curious point. This is the charter issued by earl Alan in Brittany, restoring to Robert de Musters the lands which had been held by his grandfather, uncle and father (no. 26). It is of special importance in

<sup>1</sup> *Coll. Top. et Gen.*, v, 259.

<sup>2</sup> See *D.N.B.* He was born in 1810 and died in 1889.

<sup>3</sup> *Coll. Top. et Gen.*, v, 259.

<sup>4</sup> No. 79 is from the same collection; but it is from a paper copy and probably spurious.

<sup>5</sup> Chapter V, §1E.

<sup>6</sup> In *V.C.H.*, *N.R.*, i, 24n it is stated that many documents formerly in the possession of the Corporation of Richmond were unfortunately burnt in the last century.

<sup>7</sup> See the headings given by Gale to his appendixes nos. xvii, xviii, xix.

<sup>8</sup> A copy of one of them (no. 21), not apparently so good a text as Gale's, was made from the original in July 1610; see p. 22n below. It seems quite clear that Clarkson made his copies for his *History of Richmond*, not from the original charters, but from Gale's printed texts.



proving that Robert, the Domesday tenant, was the lineal ancestor of the Musters family. Gale's text was regarded by Farrer as the only available authority for the charter; and he noted his copy as 'very corrupt.' The most suspicious feature is the name Cassandra Avock among the witnesses. On p. 28 below evidence is given to indicate that Gale composed his version of the charter in Latin from an abstract in English, which had been made from the original copy in the Dodsworth manuscripts. By a fortunate chance the English abstract was found in Harl. MS. 793, and the reference given there was sufficient to trace the original copy in MS. Dodsworth cxvi. The comparison of Gale's text with that copy shows numerous discrepancies; for example, his *dedisse* should read *concessisse et reddidisse*—and the element of restoration signified by the latter word is important. The comparison gives satisfactory evidence to show the process by which Cassandra Avock had been manufactured in stages from Conan the arch-deacon.<sup>1</sup> As a matter of fact the original copy, not in Dodsworth's hand, is itself a text which is evidently incomplete, and was probably not copied accurately from the actual charter. But it is a text which is decidedly preferable to Gale's.

The register of the alien priory of Swavesey, co. Cambridge, is an example of a manuscript which appears to be lost. The record of benefactions made by count Alan Rufus (no. 1) and the charter of count Stephen (no. 6) are known from transcripts made from this source, which are printed in the *Monasticon Anglicanum*. There are also, however, copies in the collections of Richard St. George, in Lansdowne MS. 863, one of which gives the year in which count Stephen's charter was issued; and, incidentally, that manuscript, to which my attention was called by Mr. Charles Johnson, contains an unrecorded precept of king William II, indicating that count Stephen temporarily lost possession of the honour.<sup>2</sup>

Before we pass from the printed sources some notice may be made of the Breton historians from whose works the Breton charters in abstract form are printed in this volume. Their names, and the lists of the charters which are taken from their works, are given in the second part of the first index.

The earliest is Augustin du Paz, a Dominican friar, to whom belongs the credit of being the first Breton historian to base his work on original records instead of on legend and tradition. His *Histoire Généalogique de plusieurs Maisons illustres de Bretagne* was published in a single folio volume at Paris in 1619. His genealogies are often demonstrably wrong, and the texts of his charters are not of the first quality (*e.g.*, nos. 7, 48); but he deserves honour as a pioneer.

Gui Alexis Lobineau, a Benedictine monk of the congregation of St. Maur, was the author of the *Histoire de Bretagne*, which was

<sup>1</sup> I have to thank Mr. N. Denholm-Young of the Bodleian Library for his co-operation in this matter.

<sup>2</sup> See note to no. 6.

published in two folio volumes at Paris in 1707. The second volume contains the 'preuves', and twenty-one plates containing engravings of two hundred and eighty-five seals. His work was of considerable service to Roger Gale. The 'preuves' were not the sole work of Dom Lobineau, but were in many cases collected and copied by his assistant monks according to the co-operative methods of the Congregation. While the texts fall short of modern standards they are of great value, and pointed the way for the enlarged collection printed by Dom Morice. Dom Lobineau evidently saw at Savigny the original charter of earl Alan (no. 27), which is now in the Archives Nationales, and his copy can be used to restore a portion of the text which is now missing through decay.

Hyacinthe Morice, a Benedictine monk of the same congregation, as a prelude to his later *Histoire ecclésiastique et civile de Bretagne*, produced his *Mémoires pour servir de preuves* in three folio volumes, which were published at Paris in 1742-46. All Dom Lobineau's 'preuves' and engravings of seals were reprinted, and many more were added. This was done from the materials collected by the Congregation for Dom Lobineau, the amount of fresh research being probably small. This material is now at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Collection Blancs-Manteaux. The enlarged collection of charters printed by Dom Morice is of special importance. Thus, in this volume the valuable charter of earl Alan which is dated at Quimper in 1145 (no. 25) is due to Dom Morice's text, taken from the archives of the abbey of St. Melaine at Rennes; and a charter of duke Conan IV (earl of Richmond) to Ralph de Fougères (no. 51) is from a manuscript now lost. His texts are probably not in any way superior to those of Dom Lobineau; and it must be noticed that in a charter of duke Conan IV endowing an altar at Guingamp (no. 70), of which a more perfect text was published twenty years ago in a collection of documents relating to the Breton abbey of Beaulieu, he omitted part of the attestation clause, thus making an abbot of one house to be the abbot of another. But this may have been due to a faulty copy from which his text in that instance was derived.

A greatly improved standard of the editing of texts is to be found in the six volumes of *Anciens Evêchés de Bretagne: Histoire et Monuments*, by J. Geslin de Bourgogne and A. de Barthélemy, published at St. Brieuc in 1855-79—a valuable work which is not much known in our own country. The first four volumes deal with the diocese of St. Brieuc; and in the third and fourth volumes there is a large collection of monastic charters drawn from the departmental archives, the Blancs-Manteaux collection in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and other sources. The fifth and sixth volumes deal with 'Bretagne féodale et militaire,' discussing the principal large fiefs, the last volume containing numerous original documents. This work has provided two charters of duke Conan IV otherwise unknown (nos. 63, 74), and a greatly improved notice of a charter of count Stephen (no. 5).

Arthur de la Borderie was the well-known author of the

*Histoire de Bretagne*, published in six volumes at Rennes in 1896-1914, the portion after the year 1457 being completed by Barthélemy Pocquet. In 1888 La Borderie had published his *Recueil d'actes inédits des ducs et princes de Bretagne*,<sup>1</sup> a work of great scarcity to-day. It includes about eight charters of duke Conan IV, and a great number of Breton charters of duke Geoffrey and duchess Constance. There is also a charter of their son Arthur, in which he is described as duke of Brittany, count of Anjou and [earl of] Richmond.<sup>2</sup> Of the charters of Conan IV some are incomplete; but two (nos. 60, 71 in the present volume) are taken from originals in the Archives Nationales. It is very doubtful whether La Borderie's texts can be regarded as satisfactory. Thus in one charter (no. 54), which he took from the Chartulary of Mont St. Michel, now in existence, he omitted a complete line of witnesses; and another (no. 72) from the same source, of which a superior copy is available, is not completely accurate. His *Recueil* is, however, useful for his annotations and his identifications of Breton place-names. But unfortunately the volume is not indexed.<sup>3</sup>

Of the charters printed in these various works of the Breton historians a few are to be found in the three volumes of manuscript transcripts, now in the Public Record Office,<sup>4</sup> which were made by M. Léchaudé d'Anisy in 1836. These transcripts, known as the 'Cartulaire de la Basse-Normandie,' formed the basis of that part of Round's *Calendar of Documents preserved in France* (published in 1899), which deals with western Normandy. Round collated a large number of the transcripts with the sources whence they were derived, and calendared many additional charters from manuscripts in France.<sup>5</sup> It is evident that collation was often necessary. Thus from the text of earl Alan's last charter on behalf of the future abbey of Jervaulx (no. 27 in the present volume), the original of which is available in the Archives Nationales, the first and last clauses are omitted in the P.R.O. transcript. Moreover, it is clear that Farrer regarded the transcripts as susceptible of revision, for he sent out to France his copies of those which related to the vill of Wath near Ripon, held of the honour of Richmond and possessed by the abbey of Mont St. Michel. Farrer's copies are marked with several corrections in a French hand in red ink. In the case of the confirmation charter of Conan, duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond, (no. 72) the evidence is clear that these corrections were made from the Chartulary of Mont St. Michel, which is now preserved in the Public Library of Avranches.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See p. 31n.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 74.

<sup>3</sup> In 1902 La Borderie published as a continuation of the above his *Nouveau Recueil d'actes inédits des ducs et princes de Bretagne*. Dealing as it does with the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the documents contained in it are outside the limits of the present collection, but it includes the *Enquête pour Henri d'Avagour*, in which the depositions of the witnesses throw some light on the history of Penthièvre and Guingamp in the twelfth century (see p. 87 below).

<sup>4</sup> The present reference is R. C. Transcripts, series ii, 140b.

<sup>5</sup> See his introduction, especially pp. ix, x.

<sup>6</sup> See p. 67n.



Finally, in connection with the varying quality of the texts, is the question of spurious charters. To what extent a particular transcript, which contains suspicious features, should be condemned as spurious is not always easy to determine. On this point Farrer, in his introduction to his first volume, quotes Round's review of Professor Davis's *Regesta*, in which he referred to the intervening grades of authenticity resulting from interpolation, reconstruction, or inflation. In the present volume the original charter of earl Alan to Roger de Mowbray (no. 19) had probably been lost when an inspection, apparently of a transcript, was made in 1442, and a copy entered on the Patent Roll. But the interpolations do not necessarily condemn the substance of the charter or the names of the witnesses, who in fact present no suspicious feature. On the other hand, if we have a transcript which is dated 1160, and is witnessed by a bishop whose predecessor died in 1167, and contains internal evidence that it cannot be later than 1166, apart from other suspicious features (no. 76), it is not unnatural to condemn as spurious the charter of which it purports to be a copy; or if a grantee and his heirs *and assigns* are mentioned it is impossible to suppose that such a phrase was used in a genuine charter issued by a grantor who died thirty years before the end of the twelfth century.<sup>1</sup>

### § 5.

Those who have used Farrer's three volumes will have realized the care which he bestowed on the question of dating. And if some of his limits of date can now be further defined, or in a few instances are subject to amendment, he would have been the first to welcome any such additional material as is now at our disposal for dating purposes.<sup>2</sup> Since 1916, when his third volume was issued, a considerable amount of new charter evidence for the twelfth century has been published; and the printed edition of the Pipe Rolls for the reigns of Henry II and Richard I has been completed. But much remains to be done in the compilation of dated lists of those who filled important offices in church and state throughout the century.

It is evident, not only from the details to be found in Farrer's three volumes, but also in some manuscript notes which he presented to the present editor,<sup>3</sup> that he devoted an immense amount of research to the ecclesiastical dignitaries of Yorkshire in the twelfth century. These notes contain carefully documented lists

<sup>1</sup> See p. 73 below.

<sup>2</sup> See his introduction to *E.Y.C.*, vol. i, p. viii, where he contemplates the help which would be afforded by an index. 'The critical reader will be well advised to test all dates by the collective evidence of the completed work, and by such as may not have been at my disposition.' On this ground alone the preparation of a consolidated index to the three volumes is a matter of prime importance.

<sup>3</sup> This is the manuscript to which reference is made on pp. 135 and 137 below. It is far from being in a final form, and would require careful handling before it could be made ready for print.



of the archbishops and deans of York; the archdeacons of York, Richmond, the East Riding, Cleveland, and Nottingham; the treasurers, chancellors, precentors and canons of York; and the abbots of St. Mary's and several of their officials. For the purposes of the charters relating to the honour of Richmond it is relevant to examine the available material for a dated list of the early archdeacons of Richmond; and the following notes are largely based on the references contained in this particular manuscript.

Details relating to the early archdeacons of Richmond are given in the lists printed by Le Neve,<sup>1</sup> Gale,<sup>2</sup> Clarkson,<sup>3</sup> and Mr. McCall.<sup>4</sup> The first name given by Le Neve is Conan 'an archdeacon of this Diocese (supposed of Richmond) . . . . . a witness to a deed of Stephen, Earl of Brittany and Richmond, in the second Year of William Rufus, 1088,' quoting *Mon. Ang.*, i, 391 [1st ed.]. The reference is to the charter of count Stephen to St. Mary's, York, which is printed as no. 8 in the present volume. The date is demonstrably wrong as count Stephen did not succeed to the honour before 1093, and the charter mentions king Henry I. The date of the charter belongs to the period c. 1130, and there is some slight evidence that the actual year is 1133. Conan the archdeacon, who is among the witnesses, was still holding the office in the time of earl Alan. It is evident that he was not the first archdeacon of Richmond.<sup>5</sup>

Le Neve's next name is Thurstan, giving as his authority a deed of archbishop Thurstan in *Mon. Ang.*, i, 510 [1st ed.]. This is the foundation charter of St. Clement's nunnery, York. There is no doubt that Thurstan held one of the archdeaconries. The question is whether this can be definitely proved to have been Richmond. As *Turstinus archidiaconus* he witnessed a charter of Thurstan, archbishop of York, to the men of Beverley, which Farrer assigns to the period 1115-28, being probably, as he notes, several years earlier than the later limit of date.<sup>6</sup> In the period 1125-35, with the same description, Thurstan witnessed archbishop Thurstan's foundation charter of St. Clement's nunnery, York (the charter on which Le Neve based his evidence); and among the other witnesses were William the treasurer, William son of Tole, archdeacon, and William son of Durand, archdeacon.<sup>7</sup> Of these, William the treasurer was archdeacon of the East Riding. Until early in the thirteenth century that archdeaconry was annexed to the office of treasurer. In the Bridlington Chartulary there is a charter of archbishop Thurstan to the priory, the date being c. 1125-1133, which is witnessed by William the treasurer *in cujus archidiaconatu ipsa est ecclesia*.<sup>8</sup> William son of Tole was

<sup>1</sup> *Fasti*, ed. 1716, p. 323.

<sup>2</sup> *Reg. Hon. de Richmond*, app. no. xi.

<sup>3</sup> *History of Richmond*, app. no. xxii.

<sup>4</sup> *Richmondshire Churches*, p. xxvi.

<sup>5</sup> On this point the other writers named have followed Le Neve.

<sup>6</sup> *E.Y.C.*, no. 95. William son of Tole also witnessed, not being described as archdeacon.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 357.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 1151.

archdeacon of York, *c.* 1121-1135;<sup>1</sup> and William son of Durand was probably archdeacon of Nottingham.<sup>2</sup> About this time, *c.* 1121-1128, the archdeacon of Cleveland was probably Walter, who is one of several archdeacons, not including Thurstan, whose names occur as witnesses to a charter of archbishop Thurstan to Durham priory.<sup>3</sup> This evidence certainly suggests, though does not prove, that Thurstan's archdeaconry was that of Richmond. As such he heads the list in Farrer's manuscript notes.<sup>4</sup> Mr. Leach, relying on Le Neve, assumed that Thurstan was archdeacon of Richmond before he became provost of Beverley *c.* 1132.<sup>5</sup>

This date, therefore, suggests the period when Conan became archdeacon of Richmond. It is possible that he can be identified with Conan, count Stephen's chaplain, who witnessed the count's confirmation charter to Jugon priory in Brittany 1104-36 (no. 5); but as earl Alan also had a chaplain named Conan in 1140 (no. 12) it is perhaps more likely that the two chaplains were identical, and that the archdeacon was a different person. As already mentioned, as archdeacon Conan witnessed count Stephen's charter to St. Mary's York (no. 8). As archdeacon he witnessed count Stephen's notification of his gift to Rumburgh priory, *c.* 1135 (no. 10), and three charters of earl Alan issued in England during the period 1136-45 (nos. 14, 21, 23).<sup>6</sup> He accompanied the earl to Brittany in 1145, where he witnessed two charters (nos. 25, 26). These are the latest references to his tenure of the archdeaconry.

Clarkson gives the name of Ralph the archdeacon as his successor, quoting the charter of earl Conan to the burgesses of Richmond. But it is reasonably clear that the first witness to that charter, which was issued at Rennes (no. 50), was Ralph who about the same time was holding the archdeaconry, not of Richmond, but of Rennes (no. 49).

Bartholomew, whose name is added in the 1854 edition of Le Neve, occurs in the period *c.* 1158-1163, when among the witnesses to a charter of the dean and chapter relating to Ingerthorpe are John the treasurer, and Geoffrey, Bartholomew and John the archdeacons.<sup>7</sup> At a slightly earlier date he witnessed a charter of archbishop Roger with John the treasurer, Robert, archdeacon of York, and John son of Letold, then a canon of York.<sup>8</sup> As Bartholomew the archdeacon he witnessed a charter of R[oger], arch-

<sup>1</sup> *E.Y.C.*, no. 95, i, 91*n*.

<sup>2</sup> Farrer MS. mentioned above. He was certainly not archdeacon of the East Riding as suggested by Le Neve.

<sup>3</sup> *E.Y.C.*, no. 936. Walter is the first name in Farrer's list of archdeacons of Cleveland in the same MS.

<sup>4</sup> He is also given there among the archdeacons of the East Riding, but that is impossible in view of the evidence afforded by *E.Y.C.*, no. 357.

<sup>5</sup> *Beverley Chapter Act Book*, vol. ii, pp. xi, cix.

<sup>6</sup> Also, without his archidiaconal description, probably no. 13.

<sup>7</sup> *E.Y.C.*, no. 119. The last-named was evidently John son of Letold, archdeacon of York, and Geoffrey may have been archdeacon of Cleveland.

<sup>8</sup> *Rievaulx Chartulary*, no. 225. Robert Butevilain occurs as archdeacon of York 13 Dec. 1157 and dean 6 May 1158 (Farrer MS., quoting *Chartulary of St. Peter, Gloucester*, ii, 106). He was succeeded in the archdeaconry of York by John son of Letold.

bishop of York, confirming a gift made by Roger de Mowbray to Fountains abbey of part of his forest of Nidderdale;<sup>1</sup> and another charter of the same, confirming to the same house gifts made by earl Alan and earl Conan, which was not earlier than 1158 (no. 116). Farrer has shown that 1167 is the latest date when he could have held the archdeaconry of Richmond.<sup>2</sup>

Godfrey de Lucy occurs as archdeacon of Richmond in the early part of 1185.<sup>3</sup> With this description he witnessed a charter of Clement, abbot of St. Mary's, York, to Osbert son of Fulk de Gilling, which is noted in the present volume (p. 117). That charter was issued not later than 1184, and probably shortly before.<sup>4</sup> This fragmentary evidence suggests that there may have been another archdeacon between Bartholomew and Godfrey. Godfrey became bishop of Winchester in 1189.

On 16 Sept. 1189 William de Chimeli was appointed by the king to the archdeaconry of Richmond,<sup>5</sup> and he held the office until he was given the bishopric of Avranches in 1196, being translated to Angers before consecration.<sup>6</sup> He was a king's justice in 1195 and 1196.<sup>7</sup> At Michaelmas 1196 he occurs as William de Chimeilli, archdeacon of Richmondshire,<sup>8</sup> and, as elect of Avranches, as custodian of the abbey of St. Mary's for the past year [during the vacancy in the abbacy].<sup>9</sup> A charter of his which, as archdeacon, he issued to the abbey of Mont St. Michel will be printed in the next volume among the charters relating to Wath near Ripon; and also a charter in which he confirmed the gift of the church of Great Langton to Easby abbey.

Master Eustace, the king's keeper of the seal (*sigillifer*) and vice-chancellor, was appointed by the king to the archdeaconry in succession to William de Chimeli in 1196.<sup>10</sup> He was given the bishopric of Ely and the chancellorship in 1197; he was elected bishop 10 Aug. 1197 and consecrated 8 March 1198.<sup>11</sup>

In 1198 master Honorius, a clerk of archbishop Geoffrey, was appointed by him to the archdeaconry; but the dean and chapter refused to receive him, installing Roger de St. Edmund, the king's nominee, instead. Honorius thereupon appealed to Rome.<sup>12</sup> In 1199 he was received by the rectors in the archdeaconry, who swore obedience to him and expelled the officials of Roger de St. Edmund, by reason of which he was excommunicated by the dean

<sup>1</sup> *Fountains Chartulary*, p. 208. Roger's gift was probably the undated charter on p. 204 (no. 5), and not those dated in 1175 on pp. 206-7.

<sup>2</sup> *E.Y.C.*, no. 159.

<sup>3</sup> Eyton, *Itinerary of King Henry II*, pp. 260, 262; see also *D.N.B.*

<sup>4</sup> Roger de Lascelles, a witness, was under age in 1182 (*Pipe Roll* 28 *Hen. II*, p. 40).

<sup>5</sup> *Roger de Howden*, Rolls Ser., iii, 16.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, iv, pp. 12, 37.

<sup>7</sup> *Feet of Fines*, 1182-96 (*Pipe Roll Soc.*).

<sup>8</sup> *Chancellor's Roll* 8 *Ric. I*, p. 208.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 175.

<sup>10</sup> *Roger de Howden*, iv, 12.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21; and *D.N.B.*, s.n. Eustace.

<sup>12</sup> *Roger de Howden*, iv, 52.



of York.<sup>1</sup> He soon had occasion to complain to the pope of the infringement of the privileges of the archdeaconry by archbishop Geoffrey, going to Rome in person; and his cause was upheld by the pope.<sup>2</sup> On 3 Feb. 1200-1 the pope wrote to the archbishop, referring to Honorius as being in full possession of the liberties of the archdeaconry, and ordering the archbishop to correct the abuses.<sup>3</sup> The dispute proceeded; and in June 1202 the pope informed Honorius that as he had been duly instituted as archdeacon the archdeaconry could not be transferred to another; and the dean and chapter were ordered to receive him as archdeacon, and to remove Roger from the archdeaconry.<sup>4</sup> In 1206 the king announced that he had sent master Honorius, archdeacon of Richmond, and others to the Roman court.<sup>5</sup> On 2 May 1208, as archdeacon, he was owing the king 300 marks and a palfrey for having letters of protection.<sup>6</sup> Before 4 July 1213 master R[ichard] de Marisco became archdeacon of Richmond.<sup>7</sup>

With regard to Roger de St. Edmund, the crown nominee in 1198, he witnessed as archdeacon of Richmond on 9 December in that year a confirmation charter of king Richard I to Revesby abbey.<sup>8</sup> On 2 March 1200-1 king John issued letters enjoining obedience to him as archdeacon; and for these Roger gave 300 marks.<sup>9</sup> But it is clear that Honorius, who at times had as opponents the king, the archbishop, and the dean and chapter, emerged victorious from the struggle.

These notes suggest the following list of early archdeacons of Richmond :

THURSTAN before *c.* 1132.

CONAN *c.* 1132 to 1146 (or later).

BARTHOLOMEW occurs *c.* 1158 to 1163; not later than 1167.

GODFREY DE LUCY 1184 (or earlier) to 1189.

WILLIAM DE CHIMELI 1189 to 1196.

Mag. EUSTACE 1196 to 1198.

Mag. HONORIUS 1198 to 1208 (or later).

[ROGER DE ST. EDMUND, crown nominee in 1198; appointment not upheld.]

Mag. RICHARD DE MARISCO 1213 (or earlier) to 1217.

The lists of heads of religious houses in Yorkshire in the twelfth century are far from satisfactory. Even in the case of St.

<sup>1</sup> *Roger de Howden*, iv, p. 89.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 158, 176-85.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 159.

<sup>4</sup> *Cal. Papal Letters*, i, 11.

<sup>5</sup> *Rot. Pat.*, p. 57a. The letters clearly show that the king then recognized him as archdeacon.

<sup>6</sup> *Rot. Claus.*, i, 115a. The 300 marks appear to date back to 1201, when Honorius offered them for having letters of protection and his rights in the archdeaconry (*Rot. de Obl. et Fin.*, p. 169).

<sup>7</sup> *Rot. Pat.*, p. 102a. He became bishop of Durham in 1217.

<sup>8</sup> *Mon. Ang.*, v, 456.

<sup>9</sup> *Rot. Chart.*, pp. 101b, 102a; *Rot. de Obl. et Fin.*, p. 118. In 1199 he had given 100*li.* to have right against master Honorius in the archdeaconry (*ibid.*, p. 2).



Mary's, York, for which a detailed list of abbots is prefixed to the Chronicle,<sup>1</sup> there is a point of considerable difficulty.<sup>2</sup> This concerns the period during which abbot Geoffrey held his office. The point is examined in the annotation to charter no. 105. In addition to the references given abbot Geoffrey was mentioned in a confirmation to St. Mary's, issued by king Henry I, which Farrer dates as 1123-29.<sup>3</sup>

For Easby abbey, another Yorkshire house intimately connected with the honour, the material for a list of abbots during the last half of the twelfth century is at present slight. It seems probable that the first abbot after the foundation in or about the year 1152<sup>4</sup> was Martin. He was addressed as abbot in the letters of protection and confirmation issued by pope Adrian IV<sup>5</sup> (1154-59); and as abbot he witnessed a charter issued by Guy de Balliol [the younger], confirming the gift of Gainford church to St. Mary's, York, which had been confirmed by Bernard his father.<sup>6</sup> Ralph was addressed as abbot in a confirmation issued by pope Alexander III on 15 Oct. 1162.<sup>7</sup> He occurs as abbot in a charter printed in the present volume (no. 91), which can be dated 1173 or 1174. Whether he was the same man as 'R.', who occurs as abbot not earlier than 1198, is uncertain; but his latest limit of date is 1204, when the office was filled by abbot Geoffrey.<sup>8</sup>

There is one criterion for dating early charters which gives rise to a certain danger. Professor Stenton notes that "it is generally assumed that a grant for the soul of an individual implies that the individual in question was dead when the grant was made." In commenting on a charter dated 1176, in which the grantor states that he made his confirmation *for the souls* of his father and brother (named), he points out that the brother was then alive; and he suggests that in dating charters "such phrases should only be used to supplement other evidence pointing to the death of individuals for whose benefit grants or confirmations of

<sup>1</sup> Recently printed from Bodley MS. 39 in *Chronicle of St. Mary's Abbey, York* (Surtees Soc., vol. 148), p. 1; and see *Mon. Ang.*, iii, 569.

<sup>2</sup> For another amendment which is necessary in this list see p. 137*n* below.

<sup>3</sup> *Cal. Ch. Rolls*, 1300-26, p. 119; Farrer, *Itinerary of Henry I* (E.H.R., vol. xxxiv), no. 580.

<sup>4</sup> This year is definitely given as that of the foundation in answers at an episcopal visitation in the fifteenth century (*Coll. Anglo-Premonstratensia*, ii, 3).

<sup>5</sup> Easby Chartulary, f. 307. This document and the confirmation of pope Alexander III will be printed in the next volume, Chapter V, §2.

<sup>6</sup> Stowe Charter, no. 509; *County History of Northumberland*, vi, pp. 27, 72, where Guy's confirmation is dated as 'about 1152.'

<sup>7</sup> Easby Chartulary, f. 307.

<sup>8</sup> References given on p. 146 below. In the list of abbots in *V.C.H. Yorks.*, iii, 248, the date 1191 is given for Ralph, in addition to 1162, but with no reference.

alms were made."<sup>1</sup> An examination of the charters collected in the present volume reinforces these words of warning.

A distinction in the use of the phrases 'pro salute anime' of one who was alive, and 'pro anima' of one who was dead is certainly often recognized. Thus in count Stephen's second charter to St. Mary's, York (no. 8) his gift and confirmation were made 'pro anima domini Willelmi regis et pro salute domini mei Henrici regis'; though in this case the distinction was not pursued in the remainder of the clause 'et pro anima mea et comitis mee et liberorum meorum et omnium fidelium defunctorum,' his wife and children all being alive. In his first charter to the same house (no. 4) this phrase had been used: 'pro anima regis Willelmi domini mei et pro anima patris mei et matris mee et fratrum meorum necnon et omnium parentum meorum et pro memetipso et pro animabus omnium fidelium Dei defunctorum.' In this case the words 'pro memetipso' without the use of the word 'anima' seems to suggest that the distinction was being observed. But a difficulty arises. The date of the charter is either 1093-97 or 1100-1107, with the balance of probability in favour of the former period. An argument against the period 1093-97 lies in the fact that if the distinction in the use of the phrase 'pro anima' was being observed the king William mentioned must be William I, and actually he was never count Stephen's lord. If, on the other hand, the distinction was not being observed such an argument does not apply, king William being in that case William II who was count Stephen's lord in the period 1093-97.

In the series of count Stephen's charters the following phrases also occur :

'pro parentum meorum et antecessorum meorum animabus et pro memetipso et pro comitissa Haudewysa et pro salute filiorum meorum et filiarum.....' (no. 10);

and 'pro anima patris mei et fratrum meorum.....et pro anima mea et pro salute filiorum meorum' (no. 11).

The second of these can be contrasted with the clear distinction which is apparently made in a charter of earl Alan (no. 12) :

'pro salute anime mee et uxoris et filiorum meorum et pro redemptione anime Brientii avunculi mei.....et aliorum antecessorum meorum et parentum meorum et pro stabilitate domini mei regis Stephani et filiorum et uxoris sue.'

But earl Alan's charters show no consistency, as the following examples indicate :

'pro anima patris mei et mea' (no. 17);

'pro anima patris mei et matris mee et pro me ipso et comitissa Berta uxore mea et pro heredibus meis' (no. 18);

'pro amore Dei et redemptione anime mee et pro anima patris mei et matris mee et antecessorum meorum' (no. 24);

'pro animabus patris matrisque mee et uxoris filii quoque mei' (no. 27).

<sup>1</sup> *Facsimiles of Early Charters* (Northamptonshire Record Society), p. 67.

With regard to earl Conan's charters<sup>1</sup> these examples suggest that the distinction was being observed :

'pro salute mea et pro anima patris mei . . . et pro animabus omnium antecessorum meorum' (no. 30B; and *cf.* nos. 45, 46);

'pro salute anime mee et pro anima patris mei et antecessorum meorum' (no. 32);

and these examples suggest the reverse :

'pro salute anime mee et omnium antecessorum meorum' (nos. 29, 64; and *cf.* no. 35);

'pro salute anime mee et animarum antecessorum meorum' (no. 66);

while an unusual phrase, also suggesting the reverse, is :

'pro me ipso et pro salute patris et matris mee et pro animabus avunculorum patris mei' (no. 33).

In two charters issued by Acaris de Tunstall (nos. 92, 93), at a time when his wife Sybil was certainly alive, and his son Conan was probably dead, these inconsistent phrases occur :

'pro anima mea et anima uxoris mee et Conani filii mei et omnium parentum nostrorum,' and 'pro animabus patris mei et matris mee et pro salute anime mee et Sibille uxoris mee et omnium parentum et heredum meorum.'

And finally, if a distinction was being observed by count Alan II when he made a grant 'pro anima patris mei et matris mee et fratris comitis Alani' (no. 3), he also used the phrase 'pro anima fratris mei Alani comitis et mea et omnium parentum meorum' (no. 2); and count Alan I is recorded to have made a gift 'pro anima sua et pro anima domini sui regis Anglorum Willelmi et pro anima Mathildis regine . . . et pro animabus filiorum et filiarum regis et pro anima patris sui Eudonis comitis et pro animabus parentum suorum vivorum et mortuorum.' Certainly in this last case no distinction was being observed. King William I was undoubtedly alive; and it would be impossible to draw any conclusion as to whether the gift was made before or after 1083, when queen Maud died, or before or after 1079, when count Eudo died.

Now, in attempting to draw any conclusions from this evidence, it may be said in the first place that the phrases 'pro anima mea' and 'pro salute anime mee' were evidently used indiscriminately.<sup>2</sup> And secondly, the criterion would be of value

<sup>1</sup> In most of earl Conan's charters to religious houses there is some such phrase as the examples show. It may be a coincidence that in no. 31, a charter for which the monks of Kirkstead paid him 350*li.*, no reference to his soul or the souls of his relations is made; for no such reference is made in nos. 53 and 72, which give no indication of a financial consideration.

<sup>2</sup> Probably the second was more usual; and this would conform with a distinction between the living and dead. In the charters in Madox, *Formulare Anglicanum*, nos. 396-454, under the heading 'Frankalmoigne' the phrase 'pro anima mea' only seems to occur once (no. 435), and 'pro salute anime mee' very frequently; the phrase 'pro salute vivorum et requie defunctorum' (no. 401) may be noticed; if 'pro salute anime mee, Anne nuper uxoris mee . . . .' (no. 454) is an obvious case of the neglect of the distinction, its observance may be detected in 'pro anima patris mei et pro salute anime mee' (no. 415).



for dating purposes if the distinction were constantly observed in the case of those mentioned other than the grantors themselves; but the exceptions, even in the restricted field of the present volume, are so numerous that it is at least doubtful whether the criterion can be regarded as of any practical use.

### § 6.

Attention may be drawn to a few miscellaneous points which have arisen in the course of preparing the volume.

Twelfth-century bishops are not usually so elusive as bishop John, on the day of whose burial his uncle count Stephen issued a charter of gift and confirmation to St. Mary's, York (no. 8). It is tempting to suppose that he can be identified with John, bishop of St. Briuc; but there is evidence which makes such an identification at least doubtful.

It is curious to find in a Yorkshire charter an allusion to an unrecorded treasurer of the church of St. Paul, London; and the available evidence suggests that the period during which Robert du Val held that office was some years later than the date that would otherwise be assigned to the charter to which he occurs as a witness (no. 103).

There is reason to suppose that the castle of 'Galclint,' associated with the turbulent career of earl Alan, lay in Northamptonshire, now quite unknown, its name being preserved in that of the modern Gaultney wood in the parish of Rushton (p. 90*n*). It would be satisfactory to know whether earthworks can be found which might mark the site.

Genealogical notes relating to the tenants of the honour are mainly reserved for the second part. But in the annotations to the charters in the present volume notes will be found on the families of Boterel of Nettlestead, Suffolk (no. 52), Middleton of Middleton Tyas (no. 110), and Tunstall (no. 91), and on the descendants of Ralph *vicecomes* of Ainderby (no. 106). The origin of the family of Trehampton raises an unusual point. In the annotation to no. 11A it is shown that a family known as 'de Trehampton' held two fees of the honour in Lincolnshire in the thirteenth century, and that at least some of the land which composed those fees was held by a certain Geoffrey son of Treatune at the time of the Lindsey Survey, 1115-18. It seems a reasonable deduction that the name Trehampton, at first sight a place-name (though no such place can be identified), was derived from the personal name Treatune. Geoffrey Trehampton occurs in several of earl Alan's charters (nos. 13, 14, 15, 26), in all cases without a 'de' except in no. 14, where its insertion may well be due to the carelessness of the scribe who drew up the Rufford Chartulary. Apparently at some later date the 'de' was taken into use, as if the family drew its name from a place, and the true origin became thus obscured. The name Treatune may evidently

be regarded as the equivalent of the Breton personal name Treanton or Trehanton, which occurs in charters of the ninth and eleventh centuries.<sup>1</sup>

Some references to Reiner, steward of Ranulf de Glanville, for whom he acted as deputy sheriff of Yorkshire, will be found in the notes to no. 97. He can be identified as Reiner de Waxham, and as the steward with whom is connected an incident which casts a shadow on the career of his famous master.

Notes are given which bear on the early history of Jervaulx abbey (nos. 23, 27), and of the vills of Barningham in Yorkshire (no. 9), and Long Bennington in Lincolnshire (no. 73). The place-name Manhall (*Monehale*) in Saffron Walden, Essex (no. 3), where the family of Espagne had an early interest, has been preserved in the corrupt form of Emanuel wood. An allusion to the numbering of sheep by the long hundred occurs in no. 92; and an explanation of the word *cheualche* is given in the note to no. 58.

In nos. 93, 97, 115 there are allusions to the practice of "affidatio in manu," which is the subject of an appendix by Round in his *Geoffrey de Mandeville* (pp. 384-387), where several examples are given. In the three examples in the present volume the undertaking for observance is described as having been made: *manu mea affidavi*, first in the hand of Roger de Catterick, the [rural] dean, and afterwards in the hand of Ralph de Valognes [the sheriff] in the earl's court of Richmond (no. 93); *manibus nostris affidavimus*, in the hand of Roger de Bavent, constable of Richmond (no. 97); and *fidem meam affidavi* in the hand of Uctred de Ascrig, priest, to warrant the land, the wife making a similar pledge to observe the terms of the gift (no. 115). Those who were specifically mentioned were the *fidejussores*, who, without accepting any legal liability for the promise, held the promisor's faith in their hands, and could "constrain him to redeem it by ecclesiastical censure or temporal distress."<sup>2</sup>

Another point of some legal interest occurs in no. 28. Omnisius, abbot of Bégard, records that after earl Alan's death he had placed all right in a death-bed gift made to his abbey in the hand of earl Conan, who thereupon gave it to Kirkstead abbey in the presence of specified witnesses; and the abbot undertook to procure the charter and seal of earl Conan in confirmation when the latter should be of an age to hold the land and have a seal. From

<sup>1</sup> A certain Treanton with his son Tanchi occurs *c.* 860 in the *Chartulary of Redon*, p. 58. Trehanton Barbatus and Trehanton filius (named) occur 1066-81 in the *Chartulary of St. Cross of Quimperlé*, p. 155; and *cf.* pp. 152, 154, 189.

<sup>2</sup> Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law*, 2nd ed., ii, 191, where a discussion on the pledging of faith will be found; see also the examples on p. 198*n*. It is pointed out that faith could be pledged by the grasp of hands by promisor and promisee, without the agency of a *fidejussor*. For simple forms of affidation see the phrase 'manibus suis affidaverunt coram subscriptis testibus' and other phrases in charter no. 91 in the present volume; and *cf.* 'ipse nobis fidem prestitit de fidelitate servanda' in no. 90. Several examples of the "affidatio in manu" occur in Round, *Cal. Docs. France*, and in F. M. Stenton, *Danelaw Charters* (British Academy).

this it may be deduced that earl Conan did not make his original gift by charter, but by spoken word in the presence of witnesses. The point arises as to the age which earl Conan had to attain when he would be entitled to possess a seal and issue his charter of confirmation. Was it the age of twenty-one years, which, as Glanvill states, was the full age of the English military tenant in his day? <sup>1</sup> Or was it, rather, the age of knighthood? Evidence on this matter is not easy to find. But Professor Stenton quotes a charter of king Henry I which shows "the significance of knighthood as a sign that a military tenant has come of age"; <sup>2</sup> and as late as the period 1198-1207 there is Norman evidence to the same effect in a charter recording an agreement by which Quintin Talbot undertook to confirm the gifts of his ancestors to the priory of Longueville within one month of his being made a knight. <sup>3</sup> It would therefore seem unwise to suppose that the grantors of twelfth-century charters, dealing with their own land and in possession of their own seal, had necessarily attained the age of twenty-one.

It may be convenient to add a few words of explanation of the methods adopted in printing the texts.

With regard to original charters the punctuation, and the use of *u* and *v*, and of *i* and *j*, have been preserved so far as possible; but modern practice has been adopted in the use of capital letters.

With regard to transcripts the letters *u* and *v*, and *i* and *j*, have been printed in accordance with modern usage (following Farrer's system for all his printed texts), except for proper names of which the actual forms have been preserved. Such spellings as *servicium* or *servitium*, *gratia* or *gracia*, *confirmacio* or *confirmatio*, as they appear to occur in the actual manuscripts, have been retained.

A difficulty arises in the extension of the word *Ebor*,<sup>1</sup> especially in the phrase *ecclesia sancte Marie Ebor*. It seems clear that for the archbishops, deans and archdeacons of York the adjectival form was used. The question is whether for St. Mary's abbey the extension should be *Eboracensis* or *Eboraci*. After some hesitation, especially as it departs from Farrer's practice, the extension to *Eboraci* has been made in the charters relating to St. Mary's. Possibly the question cannot be decided with certainty, and possibly there was no uniformity in the matter. But it may be relevant to note, first, that Dodsworth, when he wrote the word in full, generally used this form, and, secondly, that on the seal of a thirteenth-century abbot the word *Eboraci* is given in full. <sup>4</sup> With regard to other religious houses in York the evidence of seals does not indicate a uniform practice; for whereas that form appears in full on the early seals of St. Leonard's hospital, <sup>5</sup> and a later

<sup>1</sup> Glanvill, vii, 9.

<sup>2</sup> *First Century of English Feudalism*, p. 34.

<sup>3</sup> Le Cacheux, *Chartes du Prieuré de Longueville* (Soc. Hist. de Normandie), p. 93.

<sup>4</sup> *B.M. Cat. of Seals*, no. 4391.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, nos. 4404, 4405. Cf. also the seal of the chapter of the cathedral church of St. Peter (no. 2370).



seal of Holy Trinity priory,<sup>1</sup> the adjectival form was used on the fifteenth-century seal of St. William's college.<sup>2</sup> In the present volume, in the charters relating to religious houses, the abbreviated form has been uniformly extended to *Eboraci*, though it may be noticed that Dodsworth's actual spelling *hospitalis sancti Petri Eborascensis* (no. 13) has been preserved.

For permission to print the texts and make collotype plates of original charters in private possession the thanks of the Society are due to the Dean and Chapter of Durham, the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, and the Norwich Corporation; to print the texts of certain other documents, which have been printed elsewhere, to the Lincoln Record Society and Professor D. C. Douglas; and to print an abstract of an original charter of earl Conan, dealing with lands in Brittany, and now in the muniments at Burghley, to the Northamptonshire Record Society. We have also to thank the authorities of several institutions, of which a full list is given in the first index, for permission to print transcripts from manuscripts in their possession, and to make photographic reproductions.

My own thanks are due to many on whose help I have been able to rely in the preparation of the present volume. To Mr. L. C. Loyd, as I have recorded above, are due the abstracts of the Breton charters. It would prolong this introduction unduly to specify all the help which he has given me in arranging and annotating the charters of the lords of the honour, and in preparing the material for the second chapter. For his advice and co-operation at every stage of the work I am particularly grateful. I am indebted to Colonel John Parker and to my colleague Mr. J. W. Walker for advice on the form in which an edition of the Farrer manuscripts might be begun, and to Mr. E. W. Crossley, the Honorary Secretary of our Society, for the facilities which he has given me in connection with the manuscripts themselves. Mr. Charles Johnson and Canon C. W. Foster have kindly given me transcripts or references for charters nos. 11A, 30A, 30B, 56A, which have been added to the material already collected. On certain matters connected with the muniments in the Durham Treasury I have had the advantage of the help of the late Mr. K. C. Bayley, and in several matters relating to Lincolnshire and other counties, into which it has been a pleasure to intrude, of that of Canon Foster, Mr. H. L. Bradfer-Lawrence, and Professor Stenton. To the latter my thanks are due in connection with several points suggested in his published works, and especially by his treatment of charter evidence which forms so much of the basis of his *First Century of English Feudalism*. It is also a pleasure to record my thanks to Mr. A. E. Stamp, the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, Dr. E. G. Millar, a Deputy Keeper of Manuscripts in the British Museum, Dr. H. H. E. Craster, Bodley's Librarian, Mr. N. Denholm-Young of the Bodleian Library, Dr. H. Guppy,

<sup>1</sup> *B.M. Cat. of Seals*, no. 4399.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 4403.

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CHARLES CLAY

RASTRICK,

15 June, 1935.

#### NOTE

In the account of the lords of the honour it will be noticed that the precise date of earl Conan's death is not given, but merely the facts that he died in 1171 and that his death took place before Michaelmas. In the first edition of *The Complete Peerage*, vi, 345, the date 20 Feb. 1170-1 is given, though without any reference. The authority for the actual day, 20 Feb., has now come to hand. This is recorded in the obituary of the abbey of Mont St. Michel.<sup>1</sup> The correctness of the full date is therefore assured; and an addition to that effect may be made on p. 93.

<sup>1</sup> *Recueil des Historiens . . de la France*, xxiii, 576.

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## CHAPTER I.

### CHARTERS OF THE LORDS OF THE HONOUR OF RICHMOND

1. Record of benefactions. Gift by count Alan [I] to the abbey of SS. Sergius, Bacchus, and Brieuc [of Angers], of the church of Swavesey [co. Cambridge] and all his tithes in Swavesey and the berewicks belonging thereto, namely Bergham, Papworth [Everard], Wimpole, Toft, and Waterbeach, and whatever he had in demesne at [Dry] Drayton; for the souls of king William, queen Maud, and count Eudo his father. Gift by all the men in Swavesey to St. Andrew [of Swavesey] of their tithes of corn.

[ante 1086]

Also, by another charter at Rochester, grant by the count of pasture in Swavesey for the monks' cattle.

[ante 1089]

Pd. in *Mon. Ang.*, vi, 1001, from a transcript from the Register of Swavesey. Lansdowne MS. 863, f. 94d.<sup>1</sup>

Quoniam generatio preterit et generatio advenit, hac carta notificare decrevimus qualiter comes Alanus Rufus, divina gratia administrulante, ecclesie Christi martyrum Sergii, Bachi et sancti Brioci<sup>2</sup> ibidem requiescentium, donavit ecclesiam de Swavesey cum tota sepultura et totis oblationibus, liberam ab omni exactione et servicio et consuetudine episcopali, sicut eatenus habuerant et tenuerant, preter sex denarios ad Pascha pro chrismate. Et quando archidiaconus celebraverit synodum ibit monachus uno dierum quo voluerit, non propter consuetudinem, sed propter archidiaconi amorem et episcopi honorem, et ut precepta ecclesiastica audiat. Donavit etiam totas decimas suas de omnibus rebus in Swavesey et in berewichis ad eam pertinentibus; scilicet Bercham, Papeord sive Papworth, Quenpola sive Wimpoll, Tofte, Bechia, id est de omnibus annonis, vitulis, agnellis, porcellis, lanis, caseis; preter quod presbyteri habent de uno<sup>3</sup> berwicorum unum agrum frumenti et alterum avene. Donavit etiam decimam pratorum et omnium piscariarum suarum, et de omnibus predantibus piscium. Et donavit duos ortos. Donavit etiam quicquid proprii apud quamdam villam habebat que Draitona vocatur. Hanc autem elemosynam dedit ipse comes pro anima sua et pro anima domini sui regis

<sup>1</sup> It seems doubtful whether the Register of Swavesey now exists; see the account of the priory, written in 1904, in *Cambs. and Hunts. Arch. Soc. Transactions*, i, 32. There are copies of several documents relating to the priory, from the originals at Ely, in Cole MS. xlviii, 36; but this charter and count Stephen's (no. 6) are not included. Copies of the two charters are given in Lansdowne MS. 863, ff. 94d, 95, in the collections made by Richard St. George, Norroy, from copies, apparently of the originals, which were made by authority of Henry de Banus [? Bancis], prior of Ely—who held office towards the end of the thirteenth century. These copies in the Lansdowne MS., although far from accurate, are valuable for comparison; and the definite date of count Stephen's charter is thereby determined.

<sup>2</sup> *Briocii*, Lansd.

<sup>3</sup> *unaquaque*, Lansd.

Anglorum Willelmi<sup>1</sup> et pro anima Mathildis regine, cujus auxilio honorem adquisivit,<sup>2</sup> et pro animabus filiorum et filiarum regis et pro anima patris sui Eudonis comitis et pro animabus parentum suorum vivorum et mortuorum. Hujus autem gloriosi principis rogatu et amonitione donaverunt omnes homines in Swavesey Deo et sancto Andree et monachis totas decimas suas de annonis. Hujus elemosine sunt testes Guinomarus<sup>3</sup> dapifer, Odo camerarius, Guidonis,<sup>4</sup> Ribaldus et Bardulfus fratres comitis, et Hammus de Doll', qui precepto comitis obedientiam monachis deliberavit, scilicet Gervasio, Garnerio et Waltero. Concessit etiam idem comes apud Roucestriam Yvoni monacho pascua sua in Swavesey bestiis monachorum per omnia sicut propriis bestiis. Testes, Guinomarus<sup>3</sup> dapifer, Odo camerarius, Hars...<sup>5</sup> de sancto Jacobo, Ogerius filius Guidomari,<sup>6</sup> Guidomarus<sup>7</sup> famulus monachorum, Hamo de Doll', Asquitellus<sup>8</sup> de Furnellis, et multi alii.

It seems clear that as the monks of Swavesey are mentioned in the Domesday survey<sup>9</sup> the charter quoted in the first portion of this record was issued before 1086. Farrer suggests that the second charter was issued during the siege of Rochester in 1088. A confirmation charter of count Stephen is given at no. 6. The relics of the Breton St. Brieuc were translated to the abbey of SS. Sergius and Bacchus at Angers at an early date; this accounts for count Alan's gift.

The emendation of *adquisierint* to *adquisivit* is made by Farrer.<sup>10</sup> He notes that in the genealogy of the counts contained in the Registrum<sup>11</sup> it is said of count Alan Rufus: 'cui idem Willelmus postquam coronatus fuit in regem Anglie per conquestum, auxilio Matildis regine sue, dedit honorem et comitatum comitis Edwini in Eborakschira qui modo vocatur Richmondshire et qui ad tunc extitit geldable, sed postea regum privilegio in libertatem est mutatus.'

<sup>1</sup> *Willielmi*, M.A. and Lansd.

<sup>2</sup> *adquisierint*, M.A.; *adquisierunt*, Lansd.

<sup>3</sup> *Rectius*, *Guihomarus* or *Guuiomarus*.

<sup>4</sup> Possibly an error for *Bodinus*, who was another brother of count Alan; see Chapter V, §7.

<sup>5</sup> *Harf*... M.A.; [?] *Harseoritus*, Lansd. Notes on the form of the name Harsculf or Harscod, and on this particular witness, will be given in the introduction to the Constable's fee in Chapter V, §2.

<sup>6</sup> *Guinomari*, Lansd.

<sup>7</sup> *Guinomarus*, Lansd.

<sup>8</sup> *Arquitellus*, M.A.; *Anquitellus*, Lansd.

<sup>9</sup> *D.B.*, i, 195b.

<sup>10</sup> Also by G. W. Watson in *Complete Peerage*, 1st ed., vi, 344n.

<sup>11</sup> *Mon. Ang.*, v, 574; Gale, *Registrum Honoris de Richmond*, facing frontispiece. Although the details in the genealogy must be read with extreme caution there is no reason to doubt that count Alan obtained the honour at the instance of queen Maud. Farrer adds that the last passage of the quotation indicates, as he has suggested elsewhere (*V.C.H. Yorks.*, ii, 142), that the land of Richmondshire was acquitted of danegeld, and a yearly levy, known as sheriff's aid, imposed on all lands held by the count's tenants in place of it.



2. Grant by count Alan [II] of the lands which king William [II] had given to the abbey of St. Mary, York, namely, Clifton [York] and Overton; for the soul of count Alan [I] his brother; and gift of 3 carucates of land in Skelton [par. Overton]. [1089-93]

Inspeximus on Patent Roll, 12 Henry VI, pt. ii, m. 34. Pd. in *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1429-36, p. 362.

A[lanus] comes omnibus has literas legentibus vel a legente audientibus salutem. Sciatis quia ego pietate et misericordia motus concedo terras quas rex Willelmus dedit ecclesie sancte Marie Eburaci, hoc est Cliftonam et Ovretonam, pro anima fratris mei A[lani] comitis et mea et omnium parentum meorum; insuper addo ex dono meo iij.<sup>1</sup> carucatas terre in Escheltona pro prefatis parentibus meis et pro me ipso. Huic concessui et dono affuerunt testes: Stephanus prescripte abbacie abbas primus, Glaucus sacerdos, Odo sacerdos, Gosfridus Bainart<sup>2</sup> tunc Eburaci vicecomes, Hugo de Burons, Johannes homo ejus, Radulfus Bainart,<sup>2</sup> Godricus dapifer, Ernaldus frater comitis A[lani], Odo camerarius, Enisan<sup>3</sup> Musart, Hermerus Flauncus, Robertus Blanc Gernon', et multi alii.

King William I gave to count Alan [I] the church of St. Olave [Marygate, York] and the manor of Clifton.<sup>4</sup> At the Survey count Alan held 9½ carucates in Clifton, with soke in several places, 5 carucates in Overton, and 2 carucates and 6 bovates in Skelton, belonging to Overton, where the king held a similar amount of land in the hands of a farmer.<sup>5</sup> A record of the early benefactions to St. Mary's, York, is contained in the confirmation charter of king William II, issued soon after his accession.<sup>6</sup> The gifts of count Alan [I] were the church of St. Olave and its surroundings,<sup>7</sup> 9½ carucates in Clifton, the vill of Overton, the church of Boston, Lincs., with a carucate there and the site of the mill, the churches of Gilling and Catterick, and the demesne tithes of his castlery. His gift of Clifton and Overton, and its confirmation by king William [II], are recorded in the chronicle of abbot Stephen in these words. 'Paucis admodum diebus transactis mortuus est amicus noster comes Alanus; atque rex pro ejus anima villas que dicuntur Cliftona et Overtona nobis dedit, que erant de beneficio ejus.'<sup>8</sup> For other gifts of count Alan II see notes to no. 8.

Farrer states that Geoffrey Bainard was sheriff of Yorkshire from 1089 to 1090 to about 1094, or possibly a year or two later.<sup>9</sup> The appearance of Hugh de Burun suggests that he had succeeded to the Yorkshire fee of

<sup>1</sup> iij. in *Cal.* in error. The confirmation charter of king Henry II gives 2 car. in Skelton (*E.Y.C.*, no. 354).

<sup>2</sup> *Baniart* in *Cal.* <sup>3</sup> *Emsan* in *ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> See under Clifton in Chapter III.

<sup>5</sup> *V.C.H. Yorks.*, ii, pp. 194, 240.

<sup>6</sup> *E.Y.C.*, no. 350, and the notes thereto. Cf. also the confirmation charter of king Henry II (*ibid.*, no. 354), where the church of Richmond and the chapel of the castle are added to the list of gifts made by count Alan I.

<sup>7</sup> 'et burgum in quo ecclesia sita est a Galmou versus Cliftonam et versus aquam.' For this see note under Clifton in Chapter III.

<sup>8</sup> *Mon. Ang.*, iii, 546.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. his article, *The Sheriffs of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, 1066-1130*, in *E.H.R.*, xxx, 283.

Erneis his father. Hermer Flauncus was presumably the feoffee of Kelfield and Manfield.<sup>1</sup> It must not be supposed that Godric the dapifer was steward to count Alan; he was doubtless the tenant of count Alan I who held South Cowton in 1086,<sup>2</sup> and may probably be identified as the tenant-in-chief of that name in Norfolk and Suffolk.

3. Grant by count Alan [II] to the abbey of Bury St. Edmunds of the land which Hervey de Hispania held of him in Manhall [Saffron Walden, Essex], for the soul of his father and mother and count Alan [I] his brother. [1089-93]

Black Book of Bury St. Edmunds, Cambridge Univ. Library MS. Mm. iv. 19, f. 109d. Pd. in D. C. Douglas, *Feudal Documents from the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds*, p. 152.

A[lanus] comes Baldewino abbati et omnibus fratribus congregationis sancti Ædmundi salutem et servicium. Hoc notum vobis sit omnibusque Christianis quod ego illam terram quam Herueus de Hispania de me tenebat in Monehale sancto Ædmundo concessi pro anima patris mei et matris mee et fratris comitis A[lani].

At the Domesday survey Hervey held Manhall of count Alan. The name was preserved in Manhall wood, now corrupted into Emanuel wood on the 1 inch Ordnance map.<sup>3</sup> For notes on the family of Espagne see Chapter V, §8. Professor Douglas notes that the style of the royal writ is approached very closely in this document.<sup>4</sup>

4. Gift by count Stephen to the abbey of St. Mary, York, for the soul of king William, his lord, of [Gate] Fulford, Foston [N.R.], Shipton [par. Overton], 'Chetellestorp' [par. Escrick], 2 carucates of land in Escrick, half a carucate in Acaster [Selby], 11 bovates in [Water] Fulford, 2 carucates in Thornton [le Clay], 12 bovates in Flaxton, 3 carucates in 'Buleford,' and one carucate in 'Aluoldestorp.' [1093-97 or 1100-1107]

Inspeximus on Patent Roll, 12 Henry VI, pt. ii, m. 34.<sup>5</sup>

✠ Comes Stephanus omnibus has literas legentibus vel audientibus salutem. Sciat fraternitas vestra quia ego subscriptas terras abbacie sancte Marie Eboraci in pura elemosina ab omni terreno servicio liberis et quietas, pro anima regis Willelmi domini mei et pro anima patris mei et matris mee et fratrum meorum necnon et omnium parentum meorum et pro memetipso et pro animabus omnium fidelium Dei defunctorum in perpetua possessione dono; et quarum nomina hec sunt: Fuleforda, Foxtona, Heoppetona, Chetellestorp,<sup>6</sup> et in Ascric<sup>7</sup> ij. carrucatas terre, in Acastra<sup>8</sup> dimidiam carrucatam terre, in alia Fuleforda xj. bovatas terre, in Torrentona ij. carrucatas terre, in Flastona

<sup>1</sup> See Chapter V, §1d.

<sup>2</sup> This passed to the Bedale fee; see Chapter V, §7.

<sup>3</sup> *V.C.H. Essex*, i, 473.

<sup>4</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. xxxvii.

<sup>5</sup> In *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1429-36, p. 362 it is stated that this charter is printed in *Mon. Ang.*; but this is not the case.

<sup>6</sup> *Chetellesthorp*, Pat. R.

<sup>7</sup> *Astril*, *ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> *Ascastra*, *ibid.*

xij. bovatas terre, in Buleforda iij. carrucatas terre, in Aluoldestorp<sup>1</sup> j. carrucatam terre. Hanc donacionem si aliquis diabolico instinctu violare<sup>2</sup> presumpserit, ab omnipotenti Deo et celorum militia et catholica ecclesia nisi cito emendaverit anathematizetur. Ego Rolandus Dolensis archiepiscopus hanc elemosinam propria manu signo dominice crucis confirmo ✠; ego Stephanus sancte Marie abbas primus hujus elemosine susceptor hanc eamdem elemosinam signo dominice crucis ✠ confirmo; et affuerunt quoque testes: Guihomarus dapifer, Alanus archiepiscopi Dolensis dapifer, Odo camerarius, Ribaldus, Anschetillus de Fornellis, Hamo sancti Michaelis monacus, Laingi,<sup>3</sup> Escolandus.

The gifts described in this charter were confirmed by kings Henry II and Richard I, whose charters record them in the same order, with certain varieties of spelling.<sup>4</sup> 'Buleford' was not far from the forest of Galtres, for its mill is named on the forest boundary as on the river Foss between Farlington mill and Strensall.<sup>5</sup> No satisfactory identification of 'Aluoldestorp,' which occurs as 'Alwaldetorp' in the royal confirmations, appears to be available. Some charters relating to Acaster Selby, Escrick (including 'Chetellestorp'), Foston, Overton, and Shipton will be given in Chapter III. Some charters relating to Fulford are printed in *E.Y.C.*, i, pp. 257-260.

The date of this charter is not easy to determine. It was evidently executed in Brittany, as it is unlikely that the archbishop of Dol with his steward and a monk of Mont St. Michel were in England. Rolland became archbishop c. 1093, and his successor was elected before the end of 1107. In 1093 count Stephen appears to have succeeded his brother count Alan II, who died in that year, in the honour of Richmond,<sup>6</sup> and it is not improbable that the abbot of St. Mary's and the tenants of the honour, whose names occur in the list of witnesses, paid him a visit shortly afterwards—a suitable occasion for a benefaction to the abbey. This suggestion receives some confirmation by reason of the name of the second witness, Alan the steward of Dol. Round has several notes about him in a paper on the origin of the Stewarts,<sup>7</sup> who were descended from Flaald his brother. He occurs *ante* 1080, in 1086 and 1095, and he took part in the first crusade in 1097.<sup>8</sup> This is the last mention of him, and there is no evidence that he returned to Brittany. The period 1093-97 is therefore suggested as the probable date of the charter. In this case, however, the king William who is mentioned, presumably as dead, must be William I; and actually, having died before count Stephen acquired the honour, he was never in fact his lord. But this objection would not appear to outweigh the considerations in favour of the suggested date. If, on the contrary, reference is made to king William II, the period 1100-1107 must be regarded as an alternative.<sup>9</sup> It may be noted

<sup>1</sup> *Aluoldestorp*, *ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> *viorale*, *ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Probably corrupt, possibly in error for *Landricus*.

<sup>4</sup> *E.Y.C.*, no. 354; *Cal. Ch. Rolls*, 1300-26, p. 113. The gift in Acaster [Selby] is given as 5 bovates.

<sup>5</sup> Drake, *Eboracum*, app. p. xxxviii.

<sup>6</sup> The royal precept mentioned in the note to no. 6 proves that count Stephen was in possession of lands of the honour before the latter years of William II.

<sup>7</sup> *Studies in Peerage and Family History*, p. 115, *et seq.*

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 122.

<sup>9</sup> This is the period which Farrer himself has assigned.



that no less than four, and possibly five, of the witnesses were tenants of count Alan in 1086. The last witness can be presumably identified as Scolland, from whom the great hall in Richmond castle, known as Scolland's hall, takes its name. He died 1146-50,<sup>1</sup> so that if the period 1093-97 is accepted as the date of this charter he must have been quite young at the time.

5. Confirmation by count Stephen to the priory of Jugon [Britanny, dept. Côtes-du-nord]. [1104-36]

Pd. in Morice, *Histoire de Bretagne, Preuves*, i, col. 521 (imperfect); J. Geslin de Bourgogne and A. de Barthélemy, *Anciens Evêchés de Bretagne*, iv, 335, from the Archives des Côtes-du-Nord.

Notification that as the 'castrum' of Jugon had belonged to the ancestors and relatives of count Stephen before it came into the possession of Geoffrey de Dinan, when on a while count Stephen passed through Jugon on his way from the court of the king of the English the monks of the priory of Notre-Dame of Jugon asked him to confirm the gifts to Marmoutier of Geoffrey de Dinan and Oliver, Geoffrey's son; which he did 'horum scilicet [presencia] Conani capellani ipsius comitis, Horvenisii filii Horvenisii, Goscelini de Riviler, Roaldi vicarii, Gauffredi filii Pissonisi; de parte monachorum interfuerunt Gauffridus de Ivran et David socius ejus, et David capellanus monachorum, Hoellus famulus monachorum, et alii multi.'

The priory of Jugon was a cell of the abbey of Marmoutier, Tours. The original site of the priory was given by Oliver son of Geoffrey de Dinan in the presence of William, abbot of Marmoutier (1104-24).<sup>2</sup>

The court of the king of the English, mentioned in the document, was presumably that of Henry I, who died on 1 Dec. 1135. If, as will be suggested in Chapter II, count Stephen died in 1135-36 the latter year is the latest possible limit of date.

6. Confirmation by Stephen, a count of Britanny, to the abbey of SS. Sergius, Bacchus, and Briec [of Angers] of the gifts made by his brothers and ancestors in England, adding the tithe of his mills in Cambridge, the fisheries of Swavesey, and the land in front of [the priory] gate. At Lamballe. 30 Oct. 1107.

Pd. in *Mon. Ang.*, vi, 1002, from a transcript from the Register of Swavesey. Lansdowne MS. 863, f. 95.<sup>3</sup>

Ego Stephanus Dei gratia Britannorum<sup>4</sup> comes concedo ecclesie<sup>5</sup> Christi martyris Sergii et Bachi sanctique Brioci<sup>6</sup> decimam<sup>7</sup> integre quam fratres mei et antecessores ante me donaverunt eidem ecclesie<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Chapter V, §7; and note to no. 15 below.

<sup>2</sup> *Anciens Evêchés*, iv, 331. <sup>3</sup> See note to no. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Possibly an error for *Britannie*, the form used in nos. 8-11.

<sup>5</sup> *sanctorum* added in Lansd. after *ecclesie*.

<sup>6</sup> *Briocil*, M.A.; *Briocii*, Lansd.

<sup>7</sup> *donacionem* seems more likely; the word is corruptly *eciam* in Lansd.

<sup>8</sup> These five words added from Lansd., where the spelling is *donaverint*.

in Anglia, videlicet in ecclesiis, in decimis, in terris, in pratis et in omnibus omnino rebus quas monachi ipsius ecclesie sub fratribus meis possiderunt. Hec volo ut quiete habeant et teneant. Atque ex mea parte adjungo huic elemosine decimam molendinorum meorum que sunt in Cantabrigia et piscaturas de Swavesey et terram illam que est ante portam eorum. Horum omnium donum et confirmationem feci apud Lamballum<sup>1</sup> per manum abbatis Galteri, qui ibi meam presentiam adierat et de beneficio sue ecclesie me requisivit et post mortem meam tantum pro me fieri quantum pro monacho professo concessit. Acta sunt hec<sup>2</sup> apud Lamballum,<sup>1</sup> tertio calendas Novembris anno ab incarnatione Domini [MCVII].<sup>3</sup>

A record of benefactions made by count Alan I to this abbey for the dependent priory of Swavesey is given at no. 1. Walter occurs as abbot of SS. Sergius and Bacchus at Angers between 1106 and 1114.<sup>4</sup>

With the copies of charters nos. 1 and 6 in Lansdowne MS. 863 there is a copy of an unrecorded precept of king William II, addressed to Wimar (*Guihumaro*) the dapifer and Odo the chamberlain, that the abbot and monks of St. Sergius should hold all their lands, tithes, fisheries, and other things which they had in England as they had held them in the time of the king's father and his ancestors and of count Stephen, because he had granted [them] to them, and granting that they should hold them as quietly as Alan Rufus [? had given them]; witnesses, the abbot of Grestain and William the chancellor, at Rouen, *die inocentii*.<sup>5</sup> The wording, which proves that he had been in possession, suggests that count Stephen was dead; but this was certainly not the case. The explanation may be that he had temporarily lost possession of the honour of Richmond or of part of it. Wimar the dapifer and Odo the chamberlain, to whom the precept was addressed, were officials of the honour.

## 7. Gift by count Stephen to the abbey of St. Melaine, Rennes. At Guingamp. 1123.

Pd. in Morice, *Histoire de Bretagne, Preuves*, i, col. 546, from the Chartulary of St. Melaine at Rennes; A. du Paz, *Histoire Généalogique de Bretagne*, pt. i, 12, from a copy by d'Argentré; *Complete Peerage*, 1st ed., vi, 344n.<sup>6</sup>

Notification that when Ralph, abbot of St. Melaine, at the request of count Stephen, granted that an abbot should be established in the church of St. Saviour at Guingamp, the count assigned to the monks of St. Melaine 20s. from the hearth-money of Guingamp (*de fumagio Wingampensi*) in satisfaction of the 20s. which the said monks were

<sup>1</sup> *Lamballum*, Lansd.

<sup>2</sup> These three words added from Lansd.

<sup>3</sup> The date of the year is omitted in M.A., and is given in arabic numerals in Lansd.

<sup>4</sup> *Chartulary of St. Aubin d'Angers*, ed. Bertrand de Broussillon, ii, pp. 36, 154.

<sup>5</sup> The discovery of this precept is due to Mr. Charles Johnson, who assigns the date 1096-98. *Inocentii* is doubtless an error for *innocentium* or *innocentium*.

<sup>6</sup> Du Paz omits some of the witnesses and the subscriptions of count Stephen and his family; some of the witnesses are omitted in C.P.

wont to have yearly for the anniversaries of the count's brothers, Geoffrey and Alan.

'Et hoc concesserunt et confirmaverunt duo filii ejus Gaufridus videlicet et Henricus qui tunc Gencampi erant, Alanus vero qui in Anglia erat, ut cum reverteretur hoc idem concederet, comes firmiter promisit. Actum Guencampi anno dominice incarnationis MCXXIIJ, apud domum Galterii nepotis Rainerii, in presentia Baldrici Dolensis archiepiscopi et Radulfi Trecorensis episcopi, archidiaconi quoque Dolensis Gaufridi,<sup>1</sup> et decani Guillelmi, et multorum aliorum clericorum; de baronibus vero comitis hii interfuerunt, Eudo filius Pregenti, Hamo filius Meriani, Riwelenus filius Gaufridi, Uron filius Jugu, Hugo filius Eudonis; de monachis vero abbas Radulfus sancti Melanii, Ratfredus electus, Theobaldus prior, etc. Signum ✠ Stephani comitis. Signum ✠ Gaufridi comitis. Signum ✠ Haduissis comitis. Signum ✠ Henrici.'

The attestation of count Stephen is followed by those of count Geoffrey Boterel II, his eldest son, who succeeded to Penthievre; of countess Hawise; and of Henry, his youngest son, who succeeded to Tréguier and Guingamp. It is interesting to note that Alan, the second son, who succeeded count Stephen in the honour of Richmond, was in England in 1123, when his parents and brothers were all in Brittany.<sup>2</sup>

8. Gift by Stephen, a count of Brittany, to the abbey of St. Mary, York, of the vill of [Gate] Fulford, with its soke; and confirmation of the gifts of his ancestors, his own gifts, and those of his men, for the soul of king William [II] and the health of his lord king Henry; namely, the church [? or churches] of Richmond and the chapel of the castle, the cell of St. Martin, the churches of Catterick, Bolton [-upon-Swale], Gilling with a carucate of land, Forcett and the chapels of [South] Cowton and Eryholme, Ravensworth with a carucate of land, Croft with a fourth part of the vill, [Great] Smeaton with 5 carucates of land, Patrick Brompton with a carucate of land, Thornton [Steward] with a carucate of land, Hauxwell with a carucate of land, 4 carucates in Scotton, the vill of Little Danby, 4 carucates in Langthorne, a carucate in Finghall, half a carucate in Ruswick, the vill and church of Burneston, the church of Hornby with a carucate of land, the church of Middleton [Tyas], and the tithes of his demesnes and of the demesnes of his men of his castlery of Richmond; in Holland [co. Lincoln], the church of Boston and a carucate of land in Skirbeck and the site of the mill, with trading rights at Boston fair; in Cambridgeshire, 2 hides in Haslingfield, and his tithe of Bassingbourn, [Little] Abington, [Great] Linton, and Wicken; and in Norfolk the tithe of Lyng. [1125-35]

Inspeximus on Patent Roll, 10 Edward II, pt. 1, m. 11. Pd. in *Mon. Ang.*, iii, 547.

<sup>1</sup> *Ruffi* added by du Paz and C.P. after *Gaufridi*, but omitted by Morice.

<sup>2</sup> See Chapter II.



Stephanus Dei gratia comes Britannie omnibus audientibus et videntibus literas has tam presentibus [quam futuris] salutem. Notum sit vobis me dedisse et concessisse ecclesie sancte Marie Eboraci et monachis ibidem Deo servantibus in puram et perpetuam elemosinam villam que vocatur Fulaforda, cum tota soca sua, quietam et liberam ab omni terreno servicio. Non solum autem hanc predictam elemosinam, set et omnes tenuras et beneficia, scilicet in ecclesiis, terris, decimis, stagnis, aquis, pratis, molendinis et foris, silvis, que antecessores mei, comites, vel ego ipse vel homines de feodo nostro predictae abbacie dederunt, concedo ab omni terreno servicio quietam et liberam, preter orationes et elemosinas, imperpetuum eidem abbacie possidenda, pro anima domini Willelmi regis et pro salute domini mei Henrici regis et pro anima mea et comitis mee et liberorum meorum et omnium fidelium defunctorum, que subscribuntur hic.<sup>1</sup>

Ecclesie<sup>2</sup> de Ricamunda et capella de castello,<sup>3</sup> cella sancti Martini,<sup>4</sup> ecclesia de Cateriz<sup>5</sup> et de Boletona,<sup>6</sup> ecclesia de Gillinga et j. carrucata terre<sup>7</sup> et ecclesia de Forseta et capelle de Cutuna et de Argum;<sup>8</sup> ecclesia de Rafneswaht et j. carrucata terre;<sup>9</sup> ecclesia de Croft et quarta pars ejusdem ville;<sup>10</sup> in Smietuna v. carrucate terre et ecclesia ejusdem ville;<sup>11</sup> ecclesia de Patricbruntuna et j. carrucata terre;<sup>12</sup> ecclesia de Torentuna et j. carrucata terre;<sup>13</sup> ecclesia de Houceswell et j. carrucata terre;<sup>14</sup> in Scottuna iiij. carrucate terre;<sup>15</sup> Parva<sup>16</sup> Daneby cum pertinentiis;<sup>17</sup> iiij. carrucate terre in Langathorne et in Finagala j. carrucata terre;<sup>18</sup> in Risewic dimidia carrucata terre;<sup>19</sup> villa que vocatur Bringestuna et ecclesia ejusdem ville;<sup>20</sup> ecclesia de Hornabi et j. carrucata

<sup>1</sup> Most of these gifts are mentioned in the confirmation charter of king Henry II, pd. in *E.Y.C.*, no. 354; this is referred to as H in the following notes. The confirmation charter of king Richard I (R), pd. in *Cal. Ch. Rolls*, 1300-26, p. 112, is on similar lines. See also the confirmation charter of earl Conan (no. 33). Several of the charters of the tenants making the gifts will be printed in Chapter V.

<sup>2</sup> *ecclesiam* in H; *ecclesias* in R and in earl Conan's confirmation. The singular is more likely to be correct (*V.C.H.*, *N.R.*, i, 33n).

<sup>3</sup> The church and chapel are mentioned in H as of the gift of count Alan I; but they are not mentioned in the confirmation charter of king William II (*E.Y.C.*, no. 350).

<sup>4</sup> Gift of Wimar the dapifer, with a carucate of land, H.

<sup>5</sup> Gift of count Alan I, H.

<sup>6</sup> Not in H. It was of the gift of Budes, whose charter will be printed in Chapter V, §2.

<sup>7</sup> Gift of count Alan II, H; but the church was of the gift of count Alan I in *E.Y.C.*, no. 350.

<sup>8</sup> A car. in Forcett the gift of Wimar the dapifer, H.

<sup>9</sup> Gift of Bardulf, H.

<sup>10</sup> Gift of Enisant Musard, H.

<sup>11</sup> Gifts of Hardewin des Eschalers and [?] Bernulf, H.

<sup>12</sup> Gift of Bardulf, H.

<sup>13</sup> Church and half a car. the gift of Wimar the dapifer, H.

<sup>14</sup> Gift of Ulf son of Forne, H.

<sup>15</sup> Gift of Wimar the dapifer, H.

<sup>16</sup> *Parvam*, Pat. R.

<sup>17</sup> A car. there the gift of William de la Mare, H.

<sup>18</sup> Gift of Odo the chamberlain, H.

<sup>19</sup> Gift of Dunewald, H.

<sup>20</sup> Church and 4 car. the gift of Robert de Musters, and 4 car. the gift of Ribald, H.



terre;<sup>1</sup> ecclesia de Mideltona;<sup>2</sup> pretere decime de dominiis meis sive hominum meorum castellarie mee de Ricamunda,<sup>3</sup> preter partem ecclesiarum; in Hoilandia ecclesia sancti Botulphi et quod ei pertinet, et j. carrucata terre in Scirebec et sedes molendini.<sup>4</sup>

Concedo eciam prefatis monachis ut in tempore nundinarum in cimiterio predictae ecclesie sancti Botulphi et extra cimiterium suum in tota terra sua ejusdem ville, commodum suum sine aliquo impedimento mei vel meorum pro libito suo faciant imperpetuum. In Grantabrigescira, in Heselingfelt ij. hide<sup>5</sup> terre<sup>6</sup> et decima mea de Basigburg<sup>7</sup> et de Abictona et de Lintona et de Wicrena; et in Norfolcha decima de Lins. Hec itaque omnia cum pertinentiis suis et si que alia vel predecessores mei comites vel ego postea vel homines de feodo nostro abbacie sancte Marie Eboraci dederunt, confirmo et presentis carte testimonio corroboro et illibata predictis monachis et eorum usibus imperpetuum fore censeo, sicut aliqua abbatia in tota Anglia melius vel liberius aliquas elemosinas possidet.

Hanc vero carte auctoritatem et sigilli mei confirmacionem, si quis heredum meorum vel quilibet alius, diabolico furore instigatus, violare vel infirmare presumpserit, nisi cito emendaverit, maledictionem Dei et mei et omnis celorum milicie et tocius catholice ecclesie possideat. Hec omnia in die sepelicionis Johannis episcopi nepotis mei, in capitulo ejusdem ecclesie, coram abbate Galfrido et omnibus fratribus concessi, dedi et perhenniter confirmavi, testimonio Conani archidiaconi, Ricardi de Rullos, Radulfi Talebos, Scotlandi, Acharie, Wigani Landrici filii, Randulphi canonici Lington<sup>8</sup> cognati mei, Gosfridi de Silli, Brusselli capellani predicti episcopi, Goscelini, magistri Thome Hatecarl, Hervei Ribaldi filii.

The earliest possible date for Conan, archdeacon of Richmond, who witnessed this charter and no. 10, is 1125, as Thurstan, his predecessor in the archdeaconry, witnessed the foundation charter of St. Clement's nunnery, York, during the period 1125-35.<sup>9</sup> It is probable, however, that he did not become archdeacon until c. 1132, when Thurstan became provost of Beverley.<sup>10</sup> As archdeacon, Conan witnessed charters of earl Alan between the years 1136 and 1145 (see below). The third witness was Ralph son of Ribald, who witnessed several subsequent charters.<sup>11</sup>

The precise date of this charter would be known if bishop John could be identified satisfactorily, and the date of his death ascertained. As his chaplain was a witness it seems clear that the charter was executed on the actual day of burial, rather than on an anniversary. The only likely bishop of that name appears to be John, bishop of St. Briec, who occurs in 1109 and is said to have died or been translated in 1133.<sup>12</sup> The date is significant, and St. Briec lay in the county of Penthievre which was possessed

<sup>1</sup> Gift of Wigan de Hornebi, H.

<sup>2</sup> Gift of Uctred son of Ulf to the cell of Wetheral, Cumberland, H.

<sup>3</sup> Gift of count Alan I, H.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> *hidas*, Pat. R.

<sup>6</sup> Gift of count Alan II, H.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> *Lingcon'* is a more likely spelling.

<sup>9</sup> *E.Y.C.*, no. 357.

<sup>10</sup> *Beverley Chapter Act Book*, vol. ii, pp. x, cix.

<sup>11</sup> See Chapter V, §41.

<sup>12</sup> Gams, *Series Episcoporum*, p. 615.



S. Comes b'tra. omnibus baronibus suis. hominibus suis de ag'ia. f. c. regem. n.  
 eis sit. Seren' me deusse. y concessisse. Rando. f. h. i. sed. Constabulario meo y  
 hereditibus suis. Beruincheta. saluete. V. cap. tractus t're. pendo y hereditate  
 qued'inda herit'us. f. oroni ex m'ltis tenent. y p'p'no qd' bene. y p'p'at  
 y honorifice tenent; t. comitissa; Rogo dapifero; Radulfo. f. Ribando Alaria;  
 Scollado; Rogero de laeet; Roto comit'ario; Alano pincerna; hugonet. f. p'p'at;  
 Garnero. f. Guichom. m. dapiferi; Roscelino. f. p'p'at;



by count Stephen; the bishop, especially if he was the count's nephew, may very likely have accompanied him to England. Unfortunately a John, bishop of St. Briec, issued a charter dated 1138 to the abbey of St. Melaine, Renne;<sup>1</sup> and there is at present no evidence available that there were two successive bishops named John.<sup>2</sup>

9. Gift by Stephen, a count of Brittany, to Roald son of Harscod, his constable, and his heirs, of Barningham, namely 6 carucates of land, as Hervey son of Morinus had held it.

[c. 1130]

PLATE I.

Original charter, Westminster Abbey Muniments, no. 1402. Pd. in *Yorks. Deeds*, vii, no. 18 (p. 199), with facsimile (plate II).

·S· comes Brita[nne]. omnibus baronibus suis. et hominibus suis de Anglia francigenis. et anglicis<sup>3</sup> sal[utem]. Sciatis me dedisse. et concessisse Roaldo. fil[io]. Harscodi conestabulario meo et hereditibus suis. Bernincheham. scilicet. vi: carrucas terre. in feudo et hereditate quemadmodum Herueus. fil[ius]. Morini eam melius tenuit. et precipio quod bene et in pace. et honorifice teneat; [testibus] comitissa; Rogero dapifero; Radulfo. fil[io]. Ribaudi; Akaria; Scollando; Rogero de Lacel; Roberto camerario; Alano pincerna; Hugone. fil[io]. Iarn; Garnero. fil[io]. Guihomari dapiferi; Roscelinno. fil[io]. Ricardi;

*Seal: on a tongue of the parchment the central portion of a seal in red-brown wax, remainder repaired; obverse, equestrian, horse walking to the right, a lance in the rider's right hand and a shield with round top, the inner side showing, over his left arm; reverse, equestrian, horse to the left, lance and long convex shield in front of the rider.*

As no less than seven of the witnesses occur in the list of the men of count Stephen in Yorkshire at Michaelmas 1130<sup>4</sup> this charter is evidently of approximately the same date.

At the Domesday survey 4 carucates in Barningham belonged to the soke of Gilling, and Enisan held 2 carucates of count Alan. These made up the 6 carucates which were the subject of the above charter. Nothing appears to be otherwise known of the tenure of Hervey son of Morinus in Barningham, except that reference is presumably made to it in the writ of king Henry II directed to Conan, earl of Richmond, ordering that Roald the constable should hold in peace the land which had belonged to Hervey son of Morinus, as count Stephen, Conan's grandfather, had granted it to Roald, the date of the writ being 1154-58.<sup>5</sup> The 2 carucates held by Enisan duly passed to the Constable's fee, and were held by Roald de Richmond in 1284-85.<sup>6</sup> But the remaining 4 carucates, notwithstanding the above charter and the king's writ, passed to Roger de Mowbray, and the family of Bardulf were enfeoffed as under-tenants. Roger de Mowbray confirmed to Guisborough

<sup>1</sup> Bourgogne and Barthélemy, *Anciens Evêchés de Bretagne*, iii, 333.

<sup>2</sup> After 1133, however, the next bishop recorded by Gams is Rollandus, 1144-47, and there is therefore room for an intervening name.

<sup>3</sup> The first part of this word can be read beneath a stain.

<sup>4</sup> *Pipe Roll 31 Hen. I*, p. 27.

<sup>5</sup> See introduction to Chapter V, §2.

<sup>6</sup> *Feudal Aids*, vi, 94.



priory the gift which Walter Bardulf had made of whatever he had in Barningham and Newsham;<sup>1</sup> and this gift consisted of 6 carucates,<sup>2</sup> of which it is evident that 4 carucates lay in Barningham. In Barningham a quarter of a knight's fee was held of the honour of Richmond as of new feoffment,<sup>3</sup> and a later return gives this as a third of a fee held by the prior of Guisborough.<sup>4</sup> In 1284-85 4 carucates were held by the local family of Barningham as tenants of the prior, who held of Roger Mowbray, who held of the earl, in addition to the 2 carucates which formed part of the Constable's fee, making 6 carucates in all.<sup>5</sup>

10. Notification by Stephen, a count of Brittany, to Everard, bishop of Norwich, and others of his gift to Rumburgh priory [Suffolk], of two-thirds of the tithes of his demesnes of Kettleburgh [Suffolk], Costessey, Bawburgh, [Honingham] Thorpe, and Swaffham [Norfolk]; for the health of himself, Hawise his countess, and Geoffrey, Alan and Henry his sons. [c. 1135]

Campbell Ch. ix, 9, no. 7, from a roll of transcripts in a thirteenth-century hand. Pd. in *Mon. Ang.*, iii, 612.

Stephanus comes Britannie Ebrado Norwicensi episcopo, Ricardoque archidiacono et Giocelino decano atque universis sancte Dei ecclesie filiis, cunctisque baronibus suis Francigenis et Anglicis et hominibus cunctis de Sufolch' et de Norfolch' salutem. Sciatis me dedisse et concessisse Deo et ecclesie sancti Michaelis de Rumburg et monachis meis ibidem Deo servientibus, in pura elemosina, duas partes decimarum totius domini mei de Chetelbergia, in bladis, in porcis, in agnis, in lanis, in caseis et de molendino meo et de cunctis rebus unde decima dari debet. Do etiam predictis monachis meis de Rumburg ita plenarie duas partes decimarum domini mei de Costesseia et de Baugburg, de Thorp et de Suaffham. Hoc predictis monachis meis concedo pro parentum meorum et antecessorum meorum animabus et pro memetipso et pro comitissa Haudewysa et pro salute filiorum meorum et filiarum, Galfridi videlicet, Alani, Henrici. Rogo igitur paternitatem vestram quatinus in quantum vobis pertinebit monachis meis predictis de Rumburg assensum vestrum pro Dei meique amore adhibeatis et manuteneatis, quoniam ego et Haudewysa comitissa in puram elemosinam sicut predixi dedimus. Testibus hiis, Conano archidiacono, Heodebaldo de Valeines, Roberto filio Hamonis, Roberto de Furneuall,<sup>6</sup> Waltero filio Walerani, Huberto Blanche et Rogero Blanche fratre ejus, Oseberto de Wiechesham, Algaro de Chetelbergia, Theobaldo capellano comitis, Sansone presbytero, Andrea presbytero, Willelmo capellano de Richemund, Willelmo presbytero de Wysseth,

<sup>1</sup> *Guisborough Chartulary*, ii, 309.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Gale, p. 27.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29.

<sup>5</sup> *Feudal Aids*, vi, 94. Other charters are entered in the Guisborough Chartulary relating to the villis of Barningham and Newsham and to the church of Barningham. Several thirteenth-century charters relating to Barningham, with special reference to the local family, are calendared in *Yorks. Deeds*, vol. vii, from the Westminster Abbey muniments. See also *V.C.H., N.R.*, i, pp. 40, 94.

<sup>6</sup> Query an error for *Furnell[is]*, as in the next charter.

Sothlando,<sup>1</sup> Hugone filio Gerwagan, et multis aliis quod lungum est enarrere.

Rumburgh priory in Suffolk was established as a cell of the abbey of St. Benet of Holme in the period 1047-64.<sup>2</sup> In the time of Everard, bishop of Norwich, and with his approval, earl Alan III gave it as a cell to the abbey of St. Mary, York.<sup>3</sup> His gift was confirmed by king Henry II, 1156-57;<sup>4</sup> and by earl Conan (no. 33).

Bawburgh and Honingham Thorpe were outlying estates of the manor of Costessey, held by count Alan at the Domesday survey.<sup>5</sup> For the interest given by earl Conan to Constance his sister and her husband Alan de Rohan see Chapter II; and for the previous interest held by Bertha the countess, earl Conan's mother, in dower see charter no. 57.

A comparison of the witnesses with those whose names occur in the following charter suggests that the two charters were issued at the same period.

11. Notification by Stephen, a count of Brittany, son of count Eudo, to king Henry and to his own sons G[eoffrey], Alan and Henry, of his gift to the abbey of Bury St. Edmunds of all his land within the borough of Cambridge, for the soul of his father and brothers, including Alan Rufus who lay buried in the abbey church; which gift he had made in the presence of Hawise the countess. At Bury St. Edmunds. 1135.

Black Book of Bury St. Edmunds, Cambridge Univ. Library MS. Mm. iv, 19, f. 108d.<sup>6</sup> Pd. in D. C. Douglas, *Feudal Documents from the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds*, p. 155.

Henrico Dei gratia regi Anglie dilectissimo domino suo et omnibus prelatiſ sancte ecclesie tam presentibus quam futuris archiepiscopis episcopis abbatibus et comitibus et baronibus tocius Anglie Stephanus comes Britannie Eudonis comitis filius omnibus filiis suis G[aufrido] videlicet atque Alano necnon et Henrico omnibusque hominibus suis Francis et Anglis salutem. Volo vobis notum fieri me dedisse et concessisse Deo et sancto Ædmundo et Anselmo abbati et conventui ejusdem loci totam terram quam habui infra burgum Cantebrigie in elemosina pro anima patris mei et fratrum meorum Alani videlicet Rufi in ecclesia sancti Ædmundi jacentis et aliorum et pro anima mea et pro salute filiorum meorum ita liberam et quietam ab omni consuetudine sicut umquam eam liberius et melius tenui tempore Henrici regis cum soca et saca et tol et theam et cum omnibus consuetudinibus perpetua donatione. Et quia hoc donum propria manu presente comitissa cum cultello meo super altare sancti Ædmundi posui, ideo Henri-

<sup>1</sup> Doubtless *Scollando*.

<sup>2</sup> *Reg. of St. Benet of Holme* (Norfolk Rec. Soc.), i, 89.

<sup>3</sup> *Mon. Ang.*, iii, 612.

<sup>4</sup> *E.Y.C.*, no. 354.

<sup>5</sup> *V.C.H. Norfolk*, ii, 70.

<sup>6</sup> There are also copies in two other Bury MSS. in the same library (F and G); these have very slight variations, but the list of witnesses after *Roberto de Furnels* (which in M is merely followed by *et multis aliis*) and the dating clause have been added from G. For these references see Douglas, *loc. cit.*

cum regem k[arissimu]m dominum meum deprecor ut hoc concedat et perpetua stabilitate tenere faciat. Teste comitissa Hadewisa,<sup>1</sup> Teobaldo de Valeis,<sup>2</sup> Roberto filio Hamonis, Roberto de Furnels,<sup>3</sup> Rozelino filio Ricardi, Osberto masculo, Aldwino de Culinge, Andrea presbitero, Sampson capellano, Eudone filio epi[scopi], Radulfo de Bassingeburne. Et testimonio Ricardi Basset justificatoris regis, Radulfi filii Godrici, Willelmi filii Ricardi, Heruii monachi, Bartholomei de Creic, Willelmi filii Odonis, Radulfi de Lodnis, Adam de Cokefeld', Radulfi constabularii, Nicholai de Asino, Arnoldi militis, Gauffridi militis, Gerardi de Hepew'rthe. Et hoc donum in capitulo monachorum confirmavi anno ab incarnatione Domini millesimo centesimo xxxvto. Valet.

11A. Notification by Stephen, a count of Brittany, to his men of Holland [co. Lincoln] of his grant to Geoffrey son of 'Auredus' that he could build whatever house he pleased on the land which he held in the vill of Boston. At Washingborough.

Reg. Antiquissimum of the Cath. church of Lincoln, f. 133, no. 702.<sup>4</sup>

S[tephanus] comes Brita[nnie] omnibus hominibus suis de Hoylandei salutem. Volo vobis notum fieri me concessisse huic Gaufrido filio Ricardi facere suam domum qualemcunque voluerit in terra quam de me ten[et] in villa Sancti Botulf[i], salva mea consuetudine et faciendo quod ei inde pertinet. Test[ibus], Guilhelmo de Alb[ini], Conano, Gau . tre.<sup>5</sup> Et precipio quod bene et in pace et honorifice teneat. Apud Guasineb'.

There is insufficient evidence to suggest the period when this notification was issued. The second witness may be Conan, the count's chaplain, who witnessed no. 5. The third is possibly intended for Geoffrey son of Treatune, who was a tenant of count Stephen in Lea, Somerby, and Heapham, Lincs., at the time of the Lindsey Survey, 1115-18.<sup>6</sup> He is probably identical with, or possibly the father of, Geoffrey Trehampton who occurs in several of earl Alan's charters, e.g., no. 26, and who was the ancestor of the Trehampton family; for at a later date Roger de Trehampton held 2 knights' fees of the honour of Richmond in Lea and [Gate] Burton,<sup>7</sup> and in 1281 Ralph de Trehampton held 2 fees in Gate Burton, Lea and Heapham.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Hathewisia*, G.

<sup>2</sup> *Valoys*, F. He is Theobald de Valognes, a witness to no. 10.

<sup>3</sup> *Forneus*, F.

<sup>4</sup> From a copy kindly supplied by Canon C. W. Foster.

<sup>5</sup> *Sic*.

<sup>6</sup> *Lindsey Survey* (Linc. Rec. Soc.), p. 242.

<sup>7</sup> *Cal. Inq. Misc.*, i, no. 521.

<sup>8</sup> *Cal. Inq. p.m.*, ii, 216.

## CHARTERS OF ALAN III, EARL OF RICHMOND

The details given in Chapter II will suggest that after his accession to the honour earl Alan remained in England until he crossed to Brittany in 1145, where he died on 15 Sept. 1146. In 1136 he was styled earl of Richmond in a royal charter.<sup>1</sup> As his father was alive in 1135 (no. 11), the extreme limits of date for his various charters have been taken as 1136-1146. Of the sixteen charters here printed no. 12 is dated 1140, and nos. 25 to 27, one of which is dated 1145 and another can be presumably dated 6 Jan. 1145-6, were issued during the last period of his life in Brittany. It is difficult to place the remainder in any precise chronological order. Evidently they were all issued in England during the period 1136-45. The first two Jervaulx charters (nos. 23 and 24) appear to belong to the latter part of his career. Nos. 13 and 14, witnessed by Roger de Lascelles are probably earlier than no. 18, witnessed by his son Picot. On the other hand no. 19, witnessed by Hervey son of Acaris, is not necessarily later than no. 20, witnessed by his father, who according to the foundation narrative of Jervaulx was living in 1150.

12. Gift by Alan, a count of Brittany [and earl] of Cornwall and Richmond, to the priory of St. Michael's Mount, for the soul of Brian his uncle, of whose inheritance he possessed the land of Cornwall, of 10s. yearly rent from the fair of Marazion. At [?] Bodmin. 1140.

Pd. in *Mon. Ang.*, vi, 990, from the register of charters of the priory of St. Michael's Mount, in the possession of William, earl of Salisbury, f. 5.

A[lanus] Dei gratia comes Britannie et Cornubie et Richemuntis omnibus fidelibus suis et filiis sancte ecclesie per Cornubiam constitutis salutem. Sciatis quod ego dedi et concessi in perpetuum possessionem Deo et ecclesie sancti Michaelis de Monte in Mari, pro salute anime mee et uxoris et filiorum meorum et pro redemptione anime Brientii avunculi mei, de cujus hereditate terram Cornubie possideo, et aliorum antecessorum meorum et parentum meorum et pro stabilitate domini mei regis Stephani et filiorum et uxoris sue, illos x. s. quos habui de redditu singulis annis de feria Merdresem, et quicquid plus proficui, cum ad opus meum pertinere videbitur si in futuro creverit, totum eidem dono ecclesie, ita liberum et quietum in omni re sicut ego vel aliquis antecessorum meorum possidemus. Et ut hec donatio mea in perpetuum maneat sigilli mei impressione subscriptorum testimonio corroboravi, anno incarnationis Domini MCXL. conquestionis mee,<sup>2</sup> quo ego Alanus comes scripsi. ✠ Ego Conanus capellanus comitis.

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. Docs. France*, no. 1390; and see Chapter II below.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly some such words as *et anno primo* are omitted, referring to his acquisition of the county of Cornwall.



✠ Ego Ricardus de Luci. ✠ Ego Racorus de Valle Torta. ✠ Ego Willelmus de Tribus Inmutis. ✠ Ego Rualdus conestabularius. ✠ Ego Gaufridus de Corrun homo comitis. ✠ Ego Hugo de Terrvana, apud Bonne peracta feliciter. Quicumque eidem ecclesie pro Deo benefecit bene concedo. Testibus eisdem.

The grant of the county of Cornwall by king Stephen to Alan is given under the year 1140 in *Gesta Stephani*.<sup>1</sup> In 1141 Alan 'vir immense truculentie et doli,' as it was said, was taken prisoner by the earl of Chester and lost Cornwall.<sup>2</sup> Reginald de Dunstanville, an illegitimate son of Henry I, was created earl of Cornwall "about April 1141, probably by the empress Maud, but the title was fully recognized subsequently by king Stephen."<sup>3</sup>

With regard to Brian, Alan's uncle, in a notification issued by count Geoffrey Boterel relating to an endowment of the abbey of Marmoutier, Brian comes *Anglice terre* and Alan Rufus and Alan Niger are named as Geoffrey's brothers who consented to the gift.<sup>4</sup> Round, in commenting on this notification,<sup>5</sup> gives some details relating to Brian: he is known to have defeated the sons of Harold when they made their descent on Devon in 1069, and he died before 1086, when his Suffolk fief had passed to count Robert of Mortain; and Round suggests that he was also the antecessor of count Robert in Devon and Cornwall. Although it is uncertain whether he can be rightly regarded as the first earl of Cornwall it is significant that in a thirteenth-century charter mention is made of a gift to Launceston priory by 'comes Brian. Corn.'<sup>6</sup>

13. Gift by Alan, a count of Brittany, to the hospital of St. Peter, York, of 12s. from the farm of his mills of Richmond, in lieu of land which his father had given; and confirmation of land and houses which his father had given in the castle of Richmond, and 2 carucates of land in Langwith, formerly the vaccary of Alan Rufus, which his father had given. [1136-45]

MS. Dodsworth vii, f. 31, from the original formerly in St. Mary's Tower, York.

A[lanus] comes Brita[nnie] dapifero suo et camerario suo atque constabulario suo omnibusque hominibus suis de Anglia, Francigenis et Anglicis, salutem. Volo vobis notum fieri me dedisse et concessisse fratribus hospitalis sancti Petri Eborascensis xij. solidos de firma molendinorum meorum de Richemond in elemosina, et precipio ut quicumque sit molendinarius meus det eis vj. solidos ad festum sancti

<sup>1</sup> Rolls Ser., p. 64.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 72.

<sup>3</sup> *Complete Peerage*, new ed., iii, 429.

<sup>4</sup> *Cal. Docs. France*, no. 1176. It must, however, be pointed out that Round seems merely to have calendared an incomplete text printed by Lobineau. The whole document is printed in Bourgogne and Barthélemy, *Anciens Evêchés de Bretagne*, iv, 301, from the Archives des Côtes-du-Nord; and the concluding words 'Briencius videlicet comes Anglice terre' to the end are an addition in a later hand. The passage can hardly be used as first-hand evidence that Brian was an English earl.

<sup>5</sup> *Genealogist*, xvii, 1; and see *Complete Peerage*, new ed., iii, 427.

<sup>6</sup> Quoted by Professor Tait in a note in *E.H.R.*, xlv, 86.

Martini et vi. solidos ad festum sancti Johannis super forisfacturam meam, quia pater meus dederat eis quandam terram que reddebat eis xij. solidos, set in calumpnia erat, et ideo dedi eis istos; et concedo eis quandam terram et domos quas pater meus dedit eis in castro de Richemond;<sup>1</sup> et insuper concedo eis similiter Languat, scilicet ij. carrucas terre que fuit vaccarium Alani Rufi et quam pater meus eis dedit; et si calumpnia eis inde surrexerit quod non possim eam guarantizare, tunc paciscant quod cambiam eam ad valendum et tali condicione quod in omni beneficio illius hospitalis sim ego et pater meus et antecessores mei, libere et quiete ab omnibus gueldis et consuetudinibus. T[estibus], Conano, Scolla[ndo], Rogero de Lacel', Gaufr[ido] Treham[ton], Eudo[ne] de Grenesbia,<sup>2</sup> Ricardo filio Losowin, Roscelin, Teobaldo, capellanis.

At the Survey count Alan held  $1\frac{1}{2}$  carucates in Langwith (E.R., near York) in the soke of Clifton, and Hugh son of Baldric  $\frac{1}{2}$  carucate. It is evident that the count obtained Hugh's holding, and made the entire vill into a dairy-farm.

The first witness was presumably Conan, archdeacon of Richmond (see no. 8), who witnessed subsequent charters, and who must be distinguished from Conan, the earl's chaplain, a witness to no. 12.

14. Gift by Alan, a count of Brittany, to Richard son of [?] Bosternus of a wood called Rahage [in Hockerton, Notts.] to increase the fee of one knight which he had there beyond the Trent.

[1136-45]

Rufford Chartulary, Harl. MS. 1063, f. 94d.<sup>3</sup>

A[lanus] comes Britan[nie] omnibus baronibus suis de Anglia Francigenis et Anglicis salutem. Sciatis me dedisse et concessisse Ricardo filio Bosterni<sup>4</sup> quandam broccellam nomine Rahage in feudo et hereditate sibi et heredibus suis et hoc do ei in cressimento<sup>5</sup> feudi unius militis quod ibi ultra Trent habet; et precipio quod bene et in pace et honorifice eam teneat. Teste Conano archidiacono, Scollando,<sup>6</sup> Alano de Monbei, Rogero de Lacel, Gaufrido de Trehamton.

The charter occurs in the section of the chartulary relating to Hockerton, Notts. Rocelin son of Richard, doubtless the donee's son, gave the wood called Rahage to Rufford abbey.<sup>7</sup> His gift was confirmed by earl Conan (no. 32). From the name Rahage was derived that of Roehoe wood (now

<sup>1</sup> *Richemondo*, MS.

<sup>2</sup> *Grenesbria*, MS.

<sup>3</sup> This reference is due to Professor F. M. Stenton's *English Feudalism*, p. 158, where the terms of the charter are noticed.

<sup>4</sup> *Sic*, probably corrupt. It is suggested that the name should read *Roscelini*, partly because Richard apparently had a son Rocelin, and partly because count Stephen had a tenant named Roscelin son of Richard, who witnessed nos. 9 and 11, and may well have been the father of the donee mentioned here.

<sup>5</sup> The sixth letter seems to have been altered to *e* in a later hand.

<sup>6</sup> *Stellam*, MS.

<sup>7</sup> Chartulary, f. 90. Other charters relating to the wood are given in the Chartulary, and are noticed in Thoroton, *Nottinghamshire*, iii, 121.

Roe wood on the 1 in. map), near the boundary between Hockerton and Kirklington, Notts.<sup>1</sup>

15. Gift by Alan, a count of Brittany and [earl] of Richmond, to Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, of Kneeton [co. Nottingham], to hold by the service of one knight; Robert de Alvers, son of the bishop's niece, was to be his heir unless the bishop in his lifetime should grant it to any other of his heirs. [1136-45]

Reg. Antiquissimum of the Cath. church of Lincoln, f. 35. Pd. in *Reg. Antiquissimum* (Linc. Rec. Soc.), ii, 6.

Alanus comes Britann[ie] et Richemont' omnibus hominibus et amicis suis clericis et laicis salutem. Sciatis me dedisse et concessisse Alexandro episcopo Linc' et heredibus suis quibus eam dare voluerit Knietunam cum omnibus pertinenciis suis in feudum et hereditatem scilicet tenendam de me et de heredibus meis per servicium unius militis, et nominatim Robertus de Aluers filius neptis ejusdem Alexandri episcopi sit heres ejus nisi ipse alicui alii heredum suorum eam in vita sua in hereditatem concesserit. Hiis testibus, Rualdo constabulario, Scotland[o] dapifero, Gosfrido filio Aldroani, Radulfo filio Ribaldi, Rogero filio Gwiomari, Alano de Munby, Gosfrido Trihamton', Eudone de Grenesbi, Roberto filio Gilleberti falconarii.

Roger son of Wimar, the fifth witness, had held the office of steward c. 1130 (no. 9), which his father Wimar had held under count Alan I (no. 1); he had now been succeeded by Scolland, who witnessed this charter as steward and also nos. 16, 18 and 19. Scolland was living in Jan. 1145-6, but was then no longer steward, having been succeeded by Ralph (son of Roger); see note to no. 27. An account of Scolland and his descendants will be given in Chapter V, §7.

16. Confirmation by Alan, a count of Brittany and [an earl of] England, of the alms which Hermer and Godreda his daughter gave to Selby abbey, namely Kelfield [par. Stillingfleet, E.R. Yorks.]. [1136-45]

Selby Chartulary, Add. MS. 37771, f. 110. Pd. in *Selby Coucher Book*, no. 601.

A[lanus] comes Brit[annie] et Anglie dapifero suo et conestabulario et justiciario et baronibus<sup>2</sup> et hominibus suis tam Francis et Anglis et omnibus hoc breve audientibus et videntibus salutem. Sciatis quod ego concedo et carta mea confirmo illam elemosinam quam Hermerus dedit et concessit Deo et sancto Germano et conventui ecclesie de sancto Germano de Seleby, et Gorreia filia ejus; scilicet Calcefeld, eadem elemosina. T[estibus], Eustacio filio Johannis, Scoll[ando] dap[ifero], etc.

Hermer's daughter is named Godreda in her charter to Selby abbey,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ex inf. Professor Stenton.

<sup>2</sup> *hominibus baronibus*, MS.

<sup>3</sup> To be pd. in Chapter V, §1D.





Com be mast. sup. Iuo. y Conest. y Camayo bayorby q.  
 fust. ut. y hurb; Traat y agtis. f. t. Sciaat me manachis de  
 Suredma ecclia de Wellozun foch i elemosina ad conedu de  
 me i capite. ecessisse y dedisse. dimidia hundred. p. sui pac  
 mei y mea. Test. Rualda Conest. y Raltada hacheda. y hu.  
 gae. Cami.



No. 17

Size  $5\frac{7}{10}$  by  $1\frac{7}{10}$  in.

and Gutherith in earl Conan's charter to Torfin son of Robert (no. 55). Notes on Hermer, who also held Manfield, and his descendants will be given in Chapter V, §1d.

17. Gift by Alan, a count of Brittany and [an earl of] England, to the monks of Durham of the churches of the soke of Welton [E.R. Yorks.] and half Hunsley [par. Rowley, E.R. Yorks.].

[1136-45]

PLATE II.

Original charter in Durham Treasury, 1-3 Ebor. 12. Pd. in *E.Y.C.*, no. 968.<sup>1</sup>

.A. comes Brit[annie] et Angl[ie]. dap[ifero] suo. et conest[abulario]. et camerario baronibusque suis omnibus et hominibus Francis et Anglis. sal[utem]. Sciatis me manachis<sup>2</sup> de Durelmo ecclesias de Welletun' soch' in elemosina ad tenendum de me in capite. concessisse et dedisse. et dimidium Honderlad. pro anima patris mei et mea. Test[ibus] Rualdo conest[abulario]. et Rollando Hachedt. et Hugone. Cami[n].

*Seal on a tongue of the parchment : equestrian, obverse and reverse.*<sup>3</sup>

The gift of Welton by king William I to the bishop of Durham, 1080-86, is printed in *E.Y.C.*, no. 964. Farrer, in his printed annotation to the present charter, shows that when William II in 1088 ordered the seizure of the lands and churches of the bishop he delivered Howden, Welton and other estates of the bishop to Odo, count of Champagne, and count Alan Rufus; but that it is probable that Howden and Welton were restored in 1091 or 1092. "How," he adds "[count Alan III] had acquired any right to the churches of the soc of Welton, save by usurpation, it is difficult to say. Were the events of 1088-1091 connected with his claim, or had he received some of the temporalities of the see of Durham whilst it was void during the period 1140-1143?"

With regard to Hunsley this was shared equally in 1086 between the bishop of Durham, as a berewick of Welton, and Hugh son of Baldric. The half which is mentioned in this charter is evidently that which belonged to the bishop. There seems no justification for Farrer's insertion of *ecclesiam de* before *Honderlad* in his printed copy. It is at least doubtful whether Hunsley could have had a church at the time; and half the vill is what the charter appears to convey. Farrer adds that Hugh Camin, the third witness, was a knight of Robert de Stuteville, who held the moiety of Hunsley which had formerly been Hugh son of Baldric's.

18. Gift by Alan, a count of Brittany and [an earl of] England, to Fountains abbey, for the soul of his father and mother, himself, and countess Bertha his wife, of the wood belonging to Masham on the side of the river Ure on which Burton stood,

<sup>1</sup> Also pd. in *Hist. Dunelm. Scriptores Tres*, Surtees Soc., app. p. xxxi, and in Clarkson, *Richmond*, app. no. iv, where in both cases the last witness is wrongly given as Hugh the chamberlain.

<sup>2</sup> *Sic.*

<sup>3</sup> *Durham Seals*, no. 397; illustrated there in plate I. See below in Chapter II, app. B.

for building an abbey of the same order; and gift of Roomer and Bramley as appurtenances of Aldburgh [par. Masham].  
[1136-45]

Fountains Chartulary, Cotton MS. Tiberius C. xii, f. 25d (old f. 22d).<sup>1</sup>  
Abst. in *Fountains Chartulary*, ed. Lancaster, p. 15.

A[lanus] comes Britannie et Anglie dapifero suo et conestabulario suo et camerario baronibusque suis omnibus et hominibus Francis et Anglis salutem. Sciatis me pro anima patris mei et matris mee et pro me ipso et comitissa Berta uxore mea et pro heredibus meis monachis de Fontibus ad edificandam abbatiam quandam ejusdem ordinis cum ipsis concessisse in elemosina et in perpetuo beneficio dedisse totum nemus quod pertinet ad Marsam quod est ex illa parte aque Jhor qua Burtun' consistit. Ex alia autem parte aque predictae versus Marsam predictis monachis concedo et dono Rumoram et Bramelai ad opus predictae abbacie nomine Aldeburna. Test[ibus], Ricardo filio Eustachii filii Johannis, Scoll[ando] dapifero, Rualdo conestabulario, Guarnerio filio Guihumari, Hugone filio Jarnege', Guihumaro filio Roberti camerarii, Radulfo filio Ribaldi, Acharia, Pichot filio Rogeri de Lacela, Elias<sup>2</sup> filio Gueguen, Rollando Hachet.

cf. p. 102 n. 2

These gifts were confirmed by Roger de Mowbray, the earl's tenant in Masham.<sup>3</sup> Roger gave to the abbey Aldburgh for a grange and its belongings on that side of the river Ure, as Nigel d'Aubigny his father had formerly given it to the monks of Pontigny, and common pasture on the other side of the river in Swinton and Roomer (*Rumor*) and Nutwith.<sup>4</sup> Roomer and Bramley grange are marked on the 1 in. Ordnance map to the south of Masham on the other side of the river Ure to Aldburgh. The wastes and moors, part of the manor of Aldburgh, were called Rowmore in the valuation made after the Dissolution.<sup>5</sup> The foundation of another Cistercian abbey, contemplated in this charter, did not take place.

19. Confirmation by Alan, an earl of England and [a count of] Brittany, to Roger de Mowbray of Masham with its appurtenances, to hold as Nigel d'Aubigny his father held it of count Stephen, Alan's father, by the service of one knight; and quitclaim of any other right after the acquittance of the pledge of

<sup>1</sup> There are copies in MS. Dodsworth vii, f. 31, and lxii, f. 52; but in each case the list of witnesses is only as follows: Ricardo filio Eustachii filii Johannis, Scoll[ando] dapifero, Rualdo constabulario, Guarnerio filio Guimeri, Hugone filio Jarnegan'. The second copy is from f. 20 of a chartulary (now MS. Rawlinson B. 449); and the first in Dodsworth's own hand, seems to be from the same source, and not from the original charter. These copies are pd. in *Mon. Ang.*, v, 306. There is a copy in the Farrer MS. of the original charter, with no seal remaining, from the muniment room at Studley Royal, box 10, no. 190. But Mr. Clare Vyner, the present owner of Studley Royal, has kindly informed me that this reference is certainly incorrect, and that the charter has not as yet been rediscovered.

<sup>2</sup> Added from the original in Farrer MS; blurred in the Chartulary copy.

<sup>3</sup> *Fountains Chartulary*, p. 15.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.

<sup>5</sup> *Memorials of Fountains*, i, 332. For Bramley Grange, par. Kirkby Malzeard, see *ibid.*, p. 321.

Masham, which had been made by Roger to Alan for 100 marks of silver; with specified bounds between [East] Witton and Mashamshire. [1136-45]

Inspeximus on Patent Roll, 20 Henry VI, pt. ii, m. 6. Pd. in *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1441-46, p. 72; *Gale, Reg. Hon. de Richmond*, app. no. clxvii.

A[lanus] comes Anglie et Britannie omnibus baronibus de Richemunschire et omnibus hominibus suis Francis et Anglis salutem. Sciatis me concessisse et hac presenti carta confirmasse Rogero de Molbrai Massaham cum omnibus pertinentiis in bosco et in plano, in pratis et in pascuis, in aquis et in molendinis, in fugacionibus et in garennis, cum omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus; tenendam de me et de heredibus meis sibi et heredibus suis tam libere et tam quiete et tam honorifice sicut umquam melius tenuit Nigellus de Alben' pater suus de comite Stephano patre meo et per illud idem servicium scilicet per servicium unius militis usque ad divisas de Witton', quia nolo quod liz ulla inde oriatur pro invadacione ejusdem Massaham quam ipse idem R[ogerus] michi fecit scilicet centum marcas argenti cum nichil inde possim clamare salvo servicio meo predicto post acquietacionem vadii prenominati. Sunt autem hec mete de divisas de Witton' et de Massahamshire, scilicet ubi Esewath' est ex parte occidenti de Witebech' sicut fluit in Ior et de Esewath' usque Kelgrimeho et inde usque in Dalacher et de Dalacher usque in Blapot et inde usque in Seilekelde et inde usque in Holegil ex parte occidentali sicut Macheresgate ascendit inter duas Holegillas et inde in Kempestaines et postea sicut aque se segregant quarum quedam tendunt ad aquilonem versus Witton' et quedam ad meridiem versus Massahamshire et sicut aque se separant ex parte aquilonari de Caderlond et de Burnelueshage usque ad divisas de Coverdale et usque in Nidderesho ad divisas Radulfi filii Ribaldi. Testibus, Scolla[n]d' seneschald[o], Radulfo filio Rib[aldi], Hugone filio Gernag', Herveio filio Acharii, Rogero filio Gieumer, Alano pincerna, Roberto le chamberleng, Copsi filio Arkilli, Theobaldo clerico, Sansone de Albeni, Bertram Haget, Aldelino de Aldefeld'.

Farrer notes that the document which was inspected in 1442 cannot have been the earl's original charter, but a corrupt and enlarged fabrication of it, the original having been lost or destroyed. Fisher in his *Masham and Mashamshire* (1865), p. 473 identifies the places mentioned in the list of bounds; but Farrer, in his annotation, regards most of these identifications with reserve. Even with the aid of a 6 in. map they are as difficult to find as the original names mentioned in the charter.<sup>1</sup> They may, however, have been taken by Fisher from identifications made in the record of some Quo Warranto proceedings of the middle of the sixteenth century (*op. cit.*, p. 528).

It is clear that the charter was issued after Roger de Mowbray was of age to administer his own inherited property. He was 'adhuc puerulus' in 1138,<sup>2</sup> and the earlier limit of date given above may therefore probably

<sup>1</sup> Information kindly supplied by Mr. T. S. Gowland of Ripon.

<sup>2</sup> See the account of him in the Mowbray article in *Complete Peerage*, new ed., vol. ix.



be advanced by a few years. Farrer, without giving any reason, assigns the date 1139-41.

It is proposed to reserve discussion of the Masham fee and the texts of charters issued by the Mowbrays and their tenants for a future volume of this series dealing with the Mowbray fee in Yorkshire. Here it is only necessary to add that the knight's fee in Masham continued to be held by the Mowbrays of the honour of Richmond.<sup>1</sup>

20. Gift by Alan, a count of Brittany and [an earl of] England, to his burgesses of Richmond of his borough [of Richmond] and the land of Fontenais at fee-farm for 29*li.* yearly.

[1136-45]

Pd. in Gale, *Reg. Hon. de Richmond*, app. no. xvii, from the original in the possession of the mayor and aldermen of Richmond in 1665; Clarkson, *Richmond*, app. no. ix.

Alanus comes Britannie et Anglie dapifero suo, constabulario et omnibus baronibus et hominibus suis Francis et Anglis salutem. Volo vobis notum fieri me concessisse et dedisse imperpetuum burgensibus meis de Richemont burgum meum et terram de Fontenais in feudo firma, reddendo mihi in singulis annis xxix. libras; et volo quod eam<sup>2</sup> bene et libere et honorifice teneant in planis et nemoribus, in pascuis et in aquis, in pratis et in omnibus locis, et ipsi et heredes sui de me et de meis heredibus teneant et habeant. Testibus, Scollando, Roberto camerario, Eudone vicecomite, Acaria, Theobaldo capellano, Rogero de Asc, Copsi, Baldwin.

The name 'Fontenais' represented the demesne of the town of Richmond.<sup>3</sup> In 1175 Ranulf de Glanville rendered account of 60*s.* of the increase of 'Funteneia' beyond the usual farm for three years.<sup>4</sup>

21. Gift by Alan, an earl of England and [a count of] Brittany, to his burgesses of Richmond of the liberty which they had in the time of his uncle count Alan and his father count Stephen.

[1136-45]

Pd. in Gale, *Reg. Hon. de Richmond*, app. no. xviii, from the original in the possession of the mayor and aldermen of Richmond in 1665;<sup>5</sup> Clarkson, *Richmond*, app. no. x.

Alanus comes Anglie et Britannie dapifero suo et vicecomiti et omnibus baronibus suis Francis et Anglis salutem. Notum sit vobis me concessisse et dedisse burgensibus meis de Richemont illam liber-

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. Inq. p.m.*, ii, 215 gives this holding in 1280; see also Chapter IV below.

<sup>2</sup> Query *ea*.

<sup>3</sup> The whole demesne of Richmond called the land of Fontenay is mentioned in an inquisition taken in 1440; the yearly payment remained at 29*li.* until 1268, when it was raised to 40*li.* (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1436-41, p. 509).

<sup>4</sup> *Pipe Roll 21 Hen. II*, p. 7.

<sup>5</sup> There is a copy in MS. Dodsworth xcii, f. 137, which is not in Dodsworth's writing. At the foot: 'Septimo die Julii anno regnorum domini regis Jacobi Anglie etc. octavo et Scotie xliij'; vera copia carte originalis sigillo supranominati Alani sigillate.' There are a few small differences and inaccuracies in this copy; the last witness is given as Almer.

tatem quam habuerunt in tempore avunculi mei Alani comitis et in tempore patris mei S[tephani] comitis. Et volo quod ita bene et in pace et quiete res suas teneant et habeant cum omnibus suis consuetudinibus liberis in villa et extra villam, in planis et nemoribus, et ubicunque sint meam firmam pacem eis dono et concedo; et si aliquis eis forisfecerit ad me veniant vel ad dapiferum meum ut eos manuteneat et in meo loco rectum eis faciat. Testibus, Conano archidiacono, Scollando, Rualdo constabulario, Hugone filio Jarneg[an], Alano pincerna, Briano filio Scollandi, Baldewino de Multon, Alvi, etc.

22. Gift by Alan, a count of Brittany and [an earl of] England, to Warin son of Hervey of waste land from the wood of Gilling. [1136-45]

Easby Chartulary, Egerton MS. 2827, f. 321.

Alanus comes Britannie et Anglie dapifero suo baronibusque suis omnibus Francis et Anglis salutem. Sciatis me Guarrino filio Hervei terram vastatam de nemore Gwyllingues dedisse et concessisse et ut eam propaget et fructuosam faciat in quantum poterit in feodo et hereditate sibi et suis heredibus ad tenendam de me et de meis heredibus. Et volo et precipio ut eam teneat bene et in pace. Pro servicio enim suo ei dedi. T[estibus].

In the margin of the chartulary is written 'A. comes de Scales Warino Travers veteri.' Scales lies to the south-west of Gilling and north of Aske. For the Travers family whence the name Dalton Travers was derived see note to a charter in Chapter V, §1E, where a fine of 1186 between the abbot of Easby and Warin Travers [the younger] relating to this land will be printed. The land had been confirmed to Easby abbey by earl Conan, who referred to Warin *archarius* as the holder in the time of earl Alan (no. 39).

23. Confirmation by Alan, a count of Brittany and [an earl of] England, of the alms which Acaris son of Bardulf gave to the abbey of Savigny, namely, all his land in Fors, Worton, and Burton, which he had granted in Alan's presence; and grant by Alan of common of pasture for the monks' cattle. [in or shortly before 1145]

MS. Dodsworth lxiii, f. 42d, from the Byland Chartulary (portion now missing). Pd. in *Mon. Ang.*, v, 568.

Alanus comes Britannie et Anglie omnibus prelatiis sancte ecclesie omnibusque baronibus suis et hominibus suis de Anglia, Francigenis et Anglicis, salutem. Volo vobis notum fieri me concessisse et confirmasse illam elimosinam quam Akarias filius Bardolfi dedit monachis de Sauign[eio], pro anima patris sui et matris sue et pro animabus antecessorum suorum, scilicet totam terram quam habuit in Forsa et in Wrton et in Burtonia<sup>1</sup>, solutam et quietam ab omni servicio quod ei

<sup>1</sup> *Burtonica*, M.A. Possibly West Burton, but the place is not mentioned in the confirmation charter of Hervey son of Acaris, to be pd. in Chapter V, §46. A more likely suggestion is that it is an error for *Burg*, for Brough, Worton, Fors and Ingleby are associated together in a fine relating to the abbey's pasture in the forest of Wensleydale in 1218 (*Yorks. Fines*, 1218-31, p. 2).

pertinet, et tamen sic quod predictus Akarias mihi servicium plenarie faciat. Terram predictam concessit eis, me vidente et audiente, cum omnibus rebus et<sup>1</sup> pertinentibus, in plano et in bosco et pratis et in aquis et in campis et pasturis. Et ego insuper concedo eis in honorem Domini nostri Jesu Christi et pro animabus omnium fidelium communem pasturarum mearum quantumcunque pecunie habeant, et precipio quod bene et in pace et honorifice predictam elimosinam teneant et quod nullus ei contrarium vel molestiam faciat. Et precor omnes homines ut manuteneant eos. Teste, Conano archidiacono.

According to the history of the foundation of Jervaulx abbey contained in the Byland Chartulary<sup>2</sup> Acaris son of Bardul<sup>3</sup> made his original gift of land in Wensleydale, namely, in Fors<sup>4</sup> and in Worton<sup>5</sup> to Peter de Quinciaco, a man skilled in medicine, and other monks of Savigny. Their first simple building was called the abbey of Fors, then the abbey of Wensleydale, and then the abbey of Charity; and later, on account of its proximity to the river [Ure] the abbey of Jorvallis [Jervaulx]. The cause of Peter and his fellow monks coming from Savigny to England was uncertain, but according to belief they sojourned in the court of earl Alan by reason of Peter's medical skill and to collect alms for distribution to the needy. The charter of Acaris was duly confirmed by earl Alan.<sup>6</sup> Then follows a second charter of count Alan, confirming the gifts of Acaris and other tenants.<sup>7</sup> The narrative proceeds to relate that earl Alan expressed to brother Peter the wish to be present when the first building was ready to be erected, that he was present with four or five of his knights, urging them to give alms for the new foundation, and that the first wooden structure *in loco oratorii* was erected in 1145. This was followed by a benefaction by Roger de Mowbray of land in Mashamshire. Not long afterwards earl Alan crossed to Brittany and visited Savigny, relating to the abbot what had been accomplished; but the latter refused the gift of the new foundation with some unwillingness, and later refused to further the scheme by despatching any contingent of brethren. In 1146,<sup>8</sup> however, it was agreed at the instance of Roger, abbot of Byland, then present at the chapter-general held at Savigny, that the abbot of Savigny should assign the new abbey to Byland. At the following Easter this was arranged through the good offices of the abbot of Quarr, who announced the charter of Serlo, abbot of Savigny, giving the abbey of Wensleydale or Jervaulx to Byland abbey.<sup>9</sup> In 1149, at the chapter-general

<sup>1</sup> *Sic*, query *ei*.

<sup>2</sup> Portion now missing. Pd. in *Mon. Ang.*, v, 568 *et seq.* Only a brief summary is given here; a fuller account will be found in *V.C.H. Yorks.*, iii, 138.

<sup>3</sup> See Chapter V, §46.

<sup>4</sup> Fors, now lost, the original site of the abbey, lay in the township of Low Abbotside, par. Aysgarth (*Place-Names of the N.R.*, Eng. Place-Name Soc., p. 260). Farrer seems to have identified it with Force, near Semer Water; but this is improbable. Cf. also *V.C.H.*, *N.R.*, i, 201; and Whitaker, *Richmondshire*, i, 408. The site became known as Dale Grange.

<sup>5</sup> In Bainbridge.

<sup>6</sup> The charter printed above.

<sup>7</sup> No. 24 below.

<sup>8</sup> An error for 1147, being the year in which Henry Murdac was consecrated archbishop of York.

<sup>9</sup> See Chapter V, §46 for an apparently later charter of Serlo, of probable date 1150.

held at Cîteaux the new foundation was added to the table of Cistercian houses by the name of the abbey of Jorevall [Jervaulx]. On the first Sunday in Lent, 1150, in the chapter at Byland, John de Kinstan was appointed the first abbot of Jervaulx. A few days later he and his convent came to Jorevall<sup>1</sup> and were received with honour by Acaris the first founder and others. Abbot John then appointed Edwald as prior and the said Peter as cellarer; and there they continued with varying fortune for four years. But in the fifth year [1154] the Michaelmas rains destroyed their crops; and their condition was such that they almost decided to abandon the site. Relief was forthcoming from Byland, and a gift by that house was made of 10 bovates of land in Ellington. Brother Peter journeyed to Brittany and described to earl Conan<sup>2</sup> the disasters which had occurred. The earl promised his aid when he should next come to Richmond; but as he delayed the monks of Jervaulx, in view of their lack of sustenance, were distributed to Byland and Furness. At length, almost two years later, earl Conan<sup>3</sup> came to Richmond and visited the foundation. It was on this occasion that his anger is said to have been kindled against Scolland his dapifer and Roald (*Rolandus*) his constable because of the multitude of wolves that had gathered in the district, doing harm to man and beast.<sup>3</sup> The earl<sup>4</sup> took brother Peter to his own court, where he issued his great charter confirming the lands given by Acaris and others, and giving of his own gift the great pasture in Wensleydale with timber and minerals.<sup>5</sup> Two charters of earl Conan follow; and the statement that in 1156 he caused abbot John and the convent to transfer themselves from Fors to a site in the territory of East Witton with the permission of the chapter-general and the goodwill of Sir Hervey son of Acaris.

Apart from several details which require revision, some of which are noted above, there is no reason to doubt the general truth of the foundation narrative. Interspersed between sections of the narrative are the texts of several charters: (1) the first charter of earl Alan (no. 23 above); (2) the second charter of the same (no. 24 below); (3) and (4) two charters of Roger de Mowbray; (5) a charter of Serlo, abbot of Savigny (see Chapter V, §46); (6) of Roger, abbot of Byland, of 10 bovates in Ellington; (7) and (8) the two charters of earl Conan (nos. 29 and 67); (9) the permission of the chapter-general of Cîteaux for the move to East Witton; (10) of Hervey son of Acaris for the same (see Chapter V, §46); (11) and (12) confirmations by later abbots of Savigny of the gift of the house to Byland abbey. From independ-

<sup>1</sup> 'ubi nunc est bona grangia cum sex carucis, que vocatur Vallis grangia'; *i.e.*, Dale Grange.

<sup>2</sup> The narrative has earl Alan, clearly in error; he had died in 1146.

<sup>3</sup> There is confusion here as Scolland was not dapifer to earl Conan; he had ceased to hold that office in the time of earl Alan (see Chapter V, §7). The incident may have taken place on some visit of earl Alan to the Wensleydale district, and the passage may have been inserted in the narrative as recording a tradition, without regard to its chronological sequence.

<sup>4</sup> Described as Alan, probably correctly.

<sup>5</sup> This is evidently earl Alan's second charter, no. 24 below. The narrative appears to have returned to the events of a few years earlier, and adds: 'hoc fuit ultimum donum Alani comitis, licet scribatur in principio supra. Quo defuncto successit comes Conanus filius ejus, qui multum dilexit abbatiam de Jorevall'. Actually earl Alan issued a third charter, no. 27 below.



ent sources we have additional charters bearing on the early history of the abbey before the move to East Witton took place: (1) earl Alan's third charter issued in Brittany (no. 27); (2) the charter of Warner son of Wimar, then steward, who had added 2 carucates in Ingleby in the presence of earl Alan to the gift of 3 carucates there which his brother Roger had made (see Chapter V, §1); and (3) the charter of Brian son of Scolland and Hugh son of Jernegan giving 1½ carucates in Fors (see Chapter V, §7).

24. Confirmation by Alan, a count of Brittany and [an earl of] England, of the gift which Acaris made to the monks of Wensleydale, namely, 3 carucates of land in Worton and 1½ carucates in Fors; the vill of Ingleby [nr. Bainbridge], which Roger son of Wimar and Warner his brother gave; 1½ carucates in Fors, which Hugh son of Jernegan gave; and any future gifts of his barons or men; also gift of pasture in his forest of Wensleydale, with building material therein and liberty to dig ore of iron and lead and to take any flesh of deer worried by wolves. [1145]

MS. Dodsworth lxiii, f. 42d, from the Byland Chartulary (portion now missing). Pd. in *Mon. Ang.*, v, 569.

Alanus comes Brittannie et Anglie dapifero suo et constabulario suo de Ricomonte et omnibus baronibus suis et hominibus suis Francis et Britonibus et Anglis salutem. Scire volo vos et posteros meos et vestros quod ego, pro amore Dei et redempcione anime mee et pro anima patris mei et matris mee et antecessorum meorum, concedo et confirmo donacionem quam Akarias dedit monachis et fratribus de Wande[s]leydale, scilicet tres carucatas terre in Wrton et unam carucatam et dimidiam in Fors. Concedo et confirmo eisdem monachis et fratribus totam villam de Engilby quam Rogerus filius Guimari<sup>1</sup> et Warnerus frater suos eis dedit. Concedo etiam et confirmo unam carucatam et dimidiam in Fors de Hugone filio Gernagoti. Si quis autem baronum meorum vel hominum meorum ipsis terras vel aliquod aliud pro amore Dei dare voluerit, ego illas eorum donaciones concedo libenter et confirmo, salvo tamen meo servicio et ita salvo quod per defectum illius servicii nec alicujus petitionis supra eosdem fratres nec super homines illorum namium capiatur, nec aliqua molestia eis inferatur. Ego eis do et concedo pasturam per totam forestam meam de Wandesleydale et prata falcanda quantum eis opus fuerit. Do eciam eis et concedo ut capiant materiam ubicunque voluerint in eadem foresta ad domos suas et ad omnia necessaria sua facienda sine omni impedimento et perturbacione. Quod si minaria[m] ferri vel plumbi in terra sua invenerint, concedo ut ad opus suum eam fodiant. Si vero fratres ipsi vel aliquis suorum serviencium carnem alicujus fere in mea foresta invenerint, cum Dei benedictione illam accipiant, fere dico que luporum morsu preemptaretur. Volo autem et concedo et firmiter precipio ut omnia que memoratis fratribus dedi et concessi bene et in pace et honorifice, in nemore et in plano, in terris et in aquis et pratis et pascuis<sup>2</sup> et exitibus et omnibus consuetudinibus suis liberis in perpetuum teneant et possideant, cum tol et theme, infangetheof, etc. Test[ibus], etc.

<sup>1</sup> Rogerus de Gunymary, MS.

<sup>2</sup> Altered in MS. from *pasturis*.

This is the second charter of earl Alan transcribed in the foundation narrative of Jervaulx (see note to the preceding charter), and in view of the chronology there given was presumably issued in 1145. Its issue would be shortly before the earl's departure for Brittany, where he died in the following year. For the gifts of Roger son of Wimar and Warner his brother, and for the gift of Hugh son of Jernegan see Chapter V, §§1, 7.

**25. Confirmation by Alan, a count of Brittany, to the abbey of St. Melaine, Rennes. At Quimper. 1145.**

Pd. in Morice, *Histoire de Bretagne, Preuves*, i, col. 595, from the archives of the abbey of St. Melaine at Rennes.

'Alanus D. G. comes Britannie' at the repeated request of Hervey, abbot of St. Melaine, and 'rogatu Conani ducis et Berte filie ejus uxoris mee et Henrici fratris mei' confirms to that abbey the benefactions of his father and ancestors and in particular their rights over the church of St. Saviour at Guingamp, including the right to appoint an abbot of St. Saviour from among the monks of St. Melaine; and if from any cause there shall cease to be abbots at St. Saviour and that house shall lose the status of an abbey, then the abbot of St. Melaine shall deal with that house and its dependent cells (named and including the church of St. . . . . of [?] Rumburgh (*Rembore*) in England) as his own possessions and shall order them as may best conduce to the weal of the church.

'Actum anno ab incarnatione MCXLV, apud Chorisop[itu]m. Testes ego Alanus qui hoc confirmo et donum sigilli mei impressione munio donator. Conanus dux testis. Henricus comes frater meus t. Berta comitissa t. Radulfus Chorisopit[ensis] episcopus t. Guido Leon[ensis] episcopus t. Conanus archidiaconus t. Rotbertus capellanus filius Guehenoc t. Gaufridus de Corron t. Rodaldus Pot t. Alfrédus Pokaer t. Gaufridus Mengui t. Bidian filius Israelis t. et ex monachis Gaufridus prior, Guillelmus Privatus, Girardus cantor et bajulus abbatis, Gradelonis prior sancti Tremori, Karadocus ejus monachus, et multi alii tam clerici quam laici.'

For count Stephen's gift to the abbey of St. Melaine when an abbot was established in the church of St. Saviour see no. 7. If the identification of Rumburgh in Suffolk is correct—and no alternative appears to be available—a difficulty arises; for the early history of the priory given at no. 10 does not suggest that it was owned at any time by a Breton house. But the history between the foundation and the transfer to St. Mary's, York, is obscure.

**26. Restoration by Alan, a count of Brittany and [an earl of] England, to Robert de Musters of the land of Robert his grandfather, which Liserus his uncle and Geoffrey his father had afterwards held, retaining the service of Geoffrey Trehamton. At Ploërmel.**

[1145-46]

MS. Dodsworth cxvi, f. 51d.<sup>1</sup> Pd. in Gale, *Reg. Hon. de Richmond*, app. no. xx.<sup>2</sup>

A[lanus] comes Brit[annie] et Anglie dapifero suo et camerario suo baronibus atque omnibus suis hominibus Francis et Anglis salutem. Noveritis me concessisse et reddidisse Roberto de Monasteriis terram avi sui Roberti et quam post tenuit pater ejus Galfridus et Liserus patruus et terras et aquas et nemora<sup>3</sup> et prata<sup>4</sup> et in cunctis aliis rebus hoc excepto quod in mea manu retineo servitium Gaufridi Trehamt[on]<sup>5</sup> etc. T[estibus], com[ite] Conano et Henric[o] de Fulg[eriis] et Alan[o] de [?] Rain<sup>6</sup> et Conano archidiacono<sup>7</sup> et G. de Furnell[is] et Torphino filio Roberti. Apud Ploarmal'.

For charters relating to the Musters fee and an account of that family see Chapter V, §19. For Geoffrey Trehamton see note to no. 11A. The first witness to this charter was Conan III, duke of Brittany, earl Alan's father-in-law; the second was Henry de Fougères, his brother-in-law, husband of Olive daughter of count Stephen; and the third name is clearly intended to be that of Alan de Rohan.

27. Gift by Alan, an earl of England and a native and a count of Brittany, to the abbey of Savigny of the land of Ingleby [nr. Bainbridge], into the hands of Peter the monk; notification of the gift of this and of whatever he had in the abbey's land to Roald his constable, Ralph the steward, Theobald the chaplain, and Scolland; which Peter was his most faithful friend, to whom he had entrusted himself when in the greatest danger, and who had proved the best guardian of his body and life; to him he had wholly remitted the service of Warner. At Rennes. 6 Jan. [1145-6]

PLATE III.

Original charter, Archives Nationales, L. 969.<sup>8</sup> Cartulaire de la Basse-Normandie (P.R.O. transcripts), iii, 88, no. 49.<sup>9</sup> Pd. in Lobineau, *Histoire de Bretagne*, ii, 292; Gale, *Reg. Hon. de Richmond*, app. no. xvi, from Lobineau, *loc. cit.*; Morice, *Histoire de Bretagne, Preuves*, i, 579; abst. in Round, *Cal. Docs. France*, no. 805.

<sup>1</sup> Copied from Gascoigne's collections, and not in Dodsworth's hand.

<sup>2</sup> Gale's text is corrupt, and among the witnesses is the suspicious name of *Cassandra Avock* (see note below). He gives as his source 'Ex Collection. Rog. Dodsworth in Bibl. Harleiana.' It is reasonably certain that this source was Harl. MS. 793, f. 85d, which contains an abstract, almost wholly in English, made by Tilleyson (or Tillotson) from the Dodsworth MSS., of which vol. A. 51 (identified as MS. Dodsworth cxvi, f. 51d) is given as the reference. A comparison of Gale's text with that in MS. Dodsw. cxvi suggests that he composed it in Latin from Tilleyson's abstract.

<sup>3</sup> *nemoras*, MS.

<sup>4</sup> *pratas*, MS.

<sup>5</sup> The termination, at the end of the line, is lost in the binding.

<sup>6</sup> Not *Ram* as in Harl. MS.

<sup>7</sup> There can be little doubt that this is the correct solution. In MS. Dodsw. the word after *Conano* appears to read *Aroh'*, an *a* having been struck out between the *A* and *r*. In Harl. MS. the witness is given as *Canan' Avoch*, whence Gale produced *Cassandra Avock*, reading the two strokes of the first *n* as *ss*.

<sup>8</sup> The charter was formerly in the muniments of the abbey of Savigny. After the dissolution in 1793 this great collection was deposited at Mortain,





Qm̄ nobiliū est ho-  
 siones tueri. & alimentando de suis ppriis largitionib; accrescere. ego ala-  
 tuus comes anglie. & indigena comesq; brucaniz. dedi & ceteris sēe trinitas de sa-  
 uigneto in elemosina. p animab; patris matrisq; meę & uxoris filij qqi mei. tota-  
 terram anglie. in manū domini petri monachi. solutam ab omni exactione. & p-  
 petuo ad dē seruicū. quiete possidendam. Quod donū manifestū quero sequa-  
 ub; meis. & pēpue. R-  
 theobaldo capellā  
 laicū. me sic qētū  
 eidem petro dedisse. &  
 eius & iāquif. sciat om-  
 te & hamrico fr̄e meo. ihamrico fulgerenti. & alano dinantensi. a pud redonem  
 in die theophanię. hunc siquidem petrū uobis ex integro comendo tanqm̄ meū ami-  
 cum. & pēpū fidēlem. cui me totū. & in maximo piculo comisi. quā corpo-  
 rali uirgq; meę. cuius optimū exortat. hunc ipsū. i nemorib; ipasuis custodite.  
 huic honore & reuerentiā exhibete. De cetero uobis notū facio. qd garnery  
 seruiciū et omnino con-  
 sue religiosū pposse suo tuenerat. & cor. q; posses-  
 N. 175.

Quoniam nobilium<sup>1</sup> est ho[minum] quosque religiosos<sup>2</sup> pro posse suo uenerari. eorumque possessiones tueri. et aumentando de suis propriis largicionibus accrescere. ego Alanus comes Anglie. et indigena comesque Britanie. dedi ecclesie sancte Trinitatis de Sauvigne in elemosinam. pro animabus patris matrisque mee et uxoris filii quoque mei. totam terram Englebie. in manus domni Petri monachi. solutam ab omni exactione. et perpetuo ad Dei seruicium quiete possidendam. Quod donum manifestum fore<sup>3</sup> quero sequacibus meis. tibi precipue. Ro[aldo] ta[n]quam meo conestabulo. et Radulfo. dapifero. et Theobaldo capellano et Scollando et] omnibus Francigenis et Anglicis tam clericis quam laicis. me sic quietum [et liberum ab omni serui]cio concessisse.<sup>4</sup> et quicquid in terra abbacie habebam eidem Petro dedisse. [Hanc itaque terram a] me datam et concessam. in pratis et nemoribus in pascuis et in aquis. sciat om[nis] mea pos[ter]itas datam deinceps in pace possidendam. Me teste et Hainrico fratre meo. et Hainrico Fulgeriensi. et Alano Dinannensi. Apud Redonem in die Theophanie. Hunc siquidem Petrum uobis ex itegro<sup>5</sup> commendo tanquam meum amicum. et precipuum fidelem. cui me totum. et in maximo periculo commisi. qui corporis uiteque mee custos optimus extitit. hunc in pratis. in nemoribus in pascuis custodite. huic honorem et reuerenciam exhibete. De cetero<sup>6</sup> uobis notum facio. quod Garnerii seruicium ei omnino con[donau]i.

*Seal missing.*

This is the third of earl Alan's charters on behalf of the future abbey of Jervaulx. If the narrative history of the foundation can be trusted on this point he was present in Wensleydale in 1145; in which case, as he died in Sept. 1146, the date of this charter can be definitely fixed as 6 Jan. 1145-6. The narrative states that earl Alan, after his arrival in Brittany, visited Savigny, whose abbot received the gift of the new foundation with some unwillingness. This charter may have been issued as a result or in anticipation of such a visit. It is evident that brother Peter, who can certainly be identified with Peter de Quinciaco, was present with earl Alan at Rennes. According to the narrative he visited him in Brittany and related to him the disasters which had overtaken the new foundation; but as the passage describes events which occurred some years later there is clearly a confusion between earl Alan and earl Conan. The evidence of this charter shows that Peter paid an earlier visit in the time of earl Alan; and he may have

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where it was discovered by M. Léchaudé d'Anisy, beneath a thick layer of dust, in a garret of the sous-préfecture. The collection was also known to M. de Gerville. The most important documents, including the present charter, were removed to Paris in 1839. See Round, *op. cit.*, pp. xxx and 287; and R. L. Poole, *Léopold Delisle* (Proc. Brit. Academy, vol. v), p. 3. Lobineau, whose text is from the 'Tit. de Savigné,' evidently used the original charter c. 1700. This, as may be seen in the illustration, is now badly damaged. The restorations have been made from the texts given by Lobineau and in the P.R.O. transcript.

<sup>9</sup> The first clause from *Quoniam* to *accrescere*, and the last clauses from *Hunc siquidem* to the end, are omitted in P.R.O.

<sup>1</sup> *Sic* for *nobilium*.

<sup>2</sup> *Sic* for *religiosos*.

<sup>3</sup> Inserted above the line.

<sup>4</sup> *Sic*.

<sup>5</sup> *Sic* for *integro*.

<sup>6</sup> *Sic* for *cetero*.

accompanied him on his journey from Richmondshire to Brittany in the latter part of 1145. The special services which he rendered were perhaps due to his medical skill.

Round in his abstract of this charter translates earl Alan's style as "earl and native of England and a count of Brittany," but the translation given above appears to be correct.<sup>1</sup> He also translates the words in the last sentence as "the service of garner," and suggests an error for "*garderii* (ward)"; but it is evident that they refer to the service due from Warner [son of Wimar]. For the latter's charter of land in Ingleby see Chapter V, §1.

It will be observed that Scolland, though still living, had ceased to be steward. Ralph, who now held the office, may be identified with Ralph son of Roger son of Wimar (see introduction to Chapter V, §1). The expression *fili quoque mei* suggests that earl Conan was earl Alan's only legitimate son.<sup>2</sup>

#### CHARTERS OF CONAN, DUKE OF BRITANNY AND EARL OF RICHMOND

In arranging the charters of earl Conan in some kind of chronological sequence the following points may be mentioned:—

- (1) The style *dux Britannie* suggests that all charters in which it was used are not earlier than the autumn of 1156, when Conan made his successful expedition to Brittany and was recognized as duke.
- (2) As the date when Alan son of Roald succeeded to the constablership of Richmond (no. 47) can be definitely assigned to the year 1158, charters which he witnessed before he acquired the office are not later, and those which he witnessed as constable are not earlier than that year.
- (3) Charters in which Margaret the countess is mentioned are not earlier than 1160, when her marriage to Conan took place.
- (4) Several Breton charters are clearly not later than 1166, when Conan surrendered the duchy to king Henry II, though he appears to have retained the style *dux Britannie*.
- (5) There are periods when Conan was certainly or presumably in England after 1156: certainly at some period between Oct. 1156 and April 1158 (see note to no. 30); presumably in 1160 when he married Margaret of Scotland; and certainly in the early part of 1164 when he was present at the Council of Clarendon. Dated charters show that he was in Brittany in 1158, 1162, and 1166.

With regard to the charters printed below those relating to the possessions of the honour of Richmond are given in full. Those

<sup>1</sup> The punctuation in the original charter supports this.

<sup>2</sup> For his illegitimate sons see Chapter II.





Omib; S<sup>c</sup>e mat<sup>r</sup>e Eccl<sup>e</sup> filijs OAHISIYS abbas de Begar. sate in xpo. Scias qd Alan<sup>o</sup> Comes  
 Britannie dedit in obitu suo do<sup>r</sup>o albatie de Begar ubi corp<sup>u</sup> suu iacet. q<sup>u</sup>a ad una g<sup>ra</sup>ia facien-  
 dam in Soca de Gartuna in elemosina p salute aie sue y antecessoz suoz. sic carta sua testatur.  
 S; qm hec elemosina ta longe erat de albatia nra qd n potuim ea ad libru nrm y pficu colla-  
 borare. dilectis aut<sup>o</sup> Monachis de kyrcstede frib; nris erat admodu ualid y c<sup>o</sup>gna. eoz p<sup>o</sup>ib; y fiat  
 na caritate compulsi deposuim in manu Comitis Conah<sup>i</sup> omne ius y omne donacione y inuesti-  
 turam p<sup>o</sup>ate elemosine q de manu Comitis Alan<sup>i</sup> recepim<sup>o</sup>. y ipse Comes Conah<sup>i</sup> concessit &  
 dedit p<sup>o</sup>icas frib; nris de kyrcst<sup>e</sup> eand<sup>o</sup> elemosina in manu Rad Cellarari<sup>i</sup> q in loco abbas sui  
 de kyrcst<sup>e</sup> p<sup>o</sup>sent<sup>o</sup> aderat in p<sup>o</sup>sentia nra. nob eand<sup>o</sup> donacione conced<sup>o</sup>ndib; y confirmantib; y assig-  
 nauit eis in t<sup>o</sup>a sua p eade elemosina duas Cartucatas q<sup>u</sup>e y dimidia de suo dominio in t<sup>o</sup>ario  
 de Gartuna. y fructu qd appellat<sup>o</sup> Gartun<sup>o</sup> Kahaga. Hoc factu fuit cora h<sup>o</sup>s testib; Roaldo  
 constabulario. y alano y Willo filijs ei<sup>u</sup>. y Pichot de lacle. Ioh<sup>e</sup> fit Menghi. Gaufr<sup>i</sup> fit Monan. Wi-  
 gano fit Cade. Mano fit Gaufr. Ioh<sup>e</sup> filio Alueci. Pepigim<sup>o</sup> y eis coram h<sup>o</sup>s y multis alijs testib;  
 qd p opam nram y p<sup>o</sup>stione sine aliq<sup>o</sup> refamiliari<sup>u</sup> sue dispendio faciem<sup>o</sup> eos h<sup>o</sup>s Carta y sigillu  
 Comitis Conah<sup>i</sup> ad confirmatione p<sup>o</sup>icaz elemosine. cu ipse illi etas fuerit qd t<sup>o</sup>a tenie potue-  
 rit y sigillu huerit. hoc y pepigim<sup>o</sup> qd si morte puenit ut q<sup>u</sup>ibet casu p<sup>o</sup>edre fuerit ut hanc con-  
 uentione eis p<sup>o</sup>ice n potuerit. ap<sup>o</sup>d conuentu de Begar y ap<sup>o</sup>d abbes q de domo de Begar facia se-  
 mperbo qd quicq<sup>u</sup> post me abbas in domo de Begar subtrauet. eand<sup>o</sup> pacione eis p oia p<sup>o</sup>fiat.  
 Et hoc pepigim<sup>o</sup> eis qd om<sup>o</sup>s has conuentiones p<sup>o</sup>sentabo p me y p abbes factos de albatia de Be-  
 gar pmo generali Capto Cisteriensi. y puilegiu d<sup>o</sup>ni pp y Cartas in q<sup>u</sup>b; h<sup>o</sup>s elemosina confir-  
 mata e illuc nob<sup>o</sup>u portabim<sup>o</sup>. y de eis hanc elemosina delere faciam. y in eoz puilegijs &  
 Cartas asseribi faciam. Et has conuentiones confirmauim<sup>o</sup> h<sup>o</sup>s Cyrog<sup>o</sup>phi subserptione &  
 testu annotatione. Sol<sup>o</sup> Machi p<sup>o</sup>or<sup>o</sup> de Reuesbi. y fr<sup>o</sup>s Rannulfi Monachi. Ricard<sup>o</sup> In-  
 clusi. Wate Capell<sup>o</sup> de Bardan. Alan<sup>o</sup> Cell<sup>o</sup> de fontib; . Rad Cell<sup>o</sup> de Paru. y Domni altis Cell<sup>o</sup>

relating to Brittany are given in calendar form, and for brevity the style "Conan IV" (Conan being the fourth duke of Brittany of that name) is given in the heading. It will be noticed that these Breton charters were witnessed by several tenants of the honour of Richmond.<sup>1</sup>

In this section there is included the only known charter of countess Bertha, earl Conan's mother (no. 57).

28. Notification by Omnisius, abbot of Bégard, that Alan, a count of Brittany, had given at his death to the abbey of Bégard where he lay buried land for making a grange in the soke of Gayton [le Wold, Lincs.]; but as this benefaction was far from the abbey he, at the prayer of the monks of Kirkstead, had placed all right therein in the hand of earl Conan, who gave it to that house with his consent, assigning  $2\frac{1}{2}$  carucates of land of the demesne of Gayton and a spinney; and he had undertaken to do all in his power to procure the charter and seal of earl Conan in confirmation, when the latter should be of age to hold the land and have a seal; undertaking to obtain confirmation for this arrangement at Bégard and in the chapter of Cîteaux. [c. 1154-55]

PLATE IV.

Original charter, Harley Ch. 43 B. 45. Pd. in F. M. Stenton, *Danelaw Charters* (British Academy), no. 161; also in *Mon. Ang.*, v, 421, from the Kirkstead Chartulary, f. 78d.<sup>2</sup>

Omnibus sancte matris ecclesie filiis Omnisius abbas de Begar. salutem in Christo. Sciatis quod Alanus comes Britannie dedit in obitu suo Deo et abbacie de Begar ubi corpus suum iacet. terram ad unam grangiam faciendam in soca de Gaituna in elemosinam pro salute anime sue et antecessorum suorum. sicut carta sua testatur. Sed quoniam hec elemosina tam longe erat de abbacia nostra quod non potuimus eam ad libitum nostrum et proficuum collaborare. dilectis autem monachis de Kyrkestede fratribus nostris erat admodum utilis et contigua. eorum precibus et fraterna caritate compulsi deposuimus in manu comitis Conani omne ius et omnem donationem et inuestituram prefate elemosine quam de manu comitis Alani recepimus. et ipse comes Conanus concessit et dedit predictis fratribus nostris de Kyrkest-[ede] eandem elemosinam in manu Rad[ulfi] cellararii qui in loco abbatis sui de Kyrkest[ede] presens aderat in presentia nostra. nobis eandem donationem concedentibus et confirmantibus. et assignauit eis in terra sua pro eadem elemosina duas carrucas terre et dimidiam de suo dominio in territorio de Gaituna. et fructum quod appellatur Gaitune Rahaga. Et hoc factum fuit coram his testibus. Roaldo constabulario. et Alano et Willelmo filiis eius. et Pichot de Lacele. Johanne filio Menghi. Gaufrido filio Moruan. Wigano filio Cade. Alano

<sup>1</sup> In A. de la Borderie, *Recueil d'actes inédits des ducs et princes de Bretagne*, Rennes, imprimerie Catel, 1888, of which there is a copy in the British Museum, there are three or four additional Breton charters which are not included here, because in view of their incompleteness or absence of witnesses, they add nothing material for the present purpose.

<sup>2</sup> Only the first witness is there given.

filio Gaufridi. Johanne filio Aluieti. Pepigimus etiam eis coram his et multis aliis testibus quod per operam nostram et perquisitionem sine aliquo rei familiaris sue dispendio faciemus eos habere cartam et sigillum comitis Conani ad confirmationem predictae elemosine. cum ipse illius etatis fuerit quod terram tenere potuerit et sigillum habuerit. Hoc etiam pepigimus quod si morte preuentus uel quolibet casu pre-peditus fuerim ut hanc conuentionem eis perficere non potuerim. apud conuentum de Begar et apud abbates qui de domo de Begar facti sunt impetrabo quod quicumque post me abbas in domo de Begar substituetur. eandem pactionem eis per omnia perficiet. Et hoc pepigimus eis quod omnes has conuentiones presentabo per me et per abbates factos de abbacia de Begar primo generali capitulo Cisterciensi. et priuilegium domini pape et cartas in quibus hec elemosina confirmata est illuc nobiscum portabimus. et de eis hanc elemosinam delere faciam. et in eorum priuilegiis et cartis ascribi faciam. Et has conuentiones confirmauimus huius cyrographi subscriptione et testium annotatione. scilicet Mathei prioris de Reuesbi. et fratris Rannulfi monachi. Ricardi inclusi. Walteri capellani de Bardan[ei] Alani cell[erarii] de Fontibus. Rad[ulfi] cell[erarii] de Parco. et domni abbatis Gill[eberti] de Hoiland[ia]. et Simonis de Stikeswald.

*Seal repaired and almost obliterated. The word CIROGRAPHVM, cut through, is at the top of the charter and appears upside down. Endorsed : Cir[ographum] inter nos et monachos de Begar. xxxv. Gayton'. .j.*

The gift of earl Conan recited in this instrument was evidently made before he was 'sui iuris'. It was evidently made by spoken word in the presence of witnesses, no charter being issued. It is his earliest known act and the only one of his to which Roald the constable was a witness. King Henry II, in a confirmation charter to Kirkstead abbey, c. 1155, mentioned the gift of 'comes Conanus de Richemund' of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  carucates of land of his demesne in the fields of Gayton.<sup>1</sup> The notification by abbot Omnisius, in view of the witnesses, was presumably issued in England; the date is that suggested by Professor Stenton in his printed copy. Charters of earl Conan to Kirkstead abbey, which make additions to the land in Gayton specified in his earlier gift, are given at nos. 31, 46, and 64. Two other charters issued by him to the same house are given at nos. 30b and 56A.

29. Gift by Conan, duke of Britanny and earl of Richmond, to Jervaulx abbey of land in [East] Witton (with specified bounds), and pasture belonging thereto, with timber and fuel; and confirmation of all the gifts of earl Alan his father in the forest of Wensleydale, the land given by Acaris son of Bardolf in Worton and Fors, the vill of Ingleby given by [Roger] son of Wimar and Warner his brother, and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  carucates of land in Fors given by Brian son of Scolland and Hugh son of Jernegan.

[*post* Sept. 1156]

MS. Dodsworth lxiii, f. 52, from the Byland Chartulary (portion now missing). Pd. in *Mon. Ang.*, v, 572.

<sup>1</sup> Harl. Ch. 43 C. 17, pd. in Stenton, *Danelaw Charters*, no. 156.



Archiepiscopo Eboracensi et omnibus filiis sancte matris ecclesie Conanus [dux]<sup>1</sup> Britanie et comes Richmundie salutem. Notum sit vobis me dedisse et concessisse in puram et perpetuam elemosinam Deo et sancte Marie et monachis de Joreualle totam terram in territorio de Witton, in bosco et in plano et omnibus aliis pertinentiis que est ultra Holbec usque ad divisas inter Witton et Massamshire, videlicet sicut Holbec descendit de mora in Napewith,<sup>2</sup> et sicut ego et homines mei perambulavimus divisas inter Leybec sicut Labec currit in Jor sub Thurshou et exinde usque illuc ubi Whitebec cadit in Jor et dividit inter Witton et Ellington et inde usque ad caput de Whitebec et inde usque ad Staynbayttwherth et inde usque ad Suneshul et inde usque ad Makeresgats et inde quantum divide durant versus Massham. Do eciam eis et concedo pasturam in omni mora et bosco et plano que pertinet ad Witton et meremium et lingna ad focos suos et ad omnia necessaria sua. Preterea concedo et confirmo predictae abbacie et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus omnes donaciones [et] concessiones patris mei comitis Alani cum omnibus libertatibus et aisiamentis suis per totam forestam de Wandesleydale, et prohibeo ut nullus ducat animalia ad pascendum in predicta foresta ad molestiam monachorum meorum. Preter hec dedi eis et concessi ut faciant vaccarias in foresta mea de Wandesleydale. Insuper concedo et confirmo ipsis monachis totam terram quam habent ex dono Akarie filii Bardolfi in Wrton et in Fors cum omnibus rebus eidem terre pertinentibus. Concedo et confirmo eisdem monachis totam villam de Ingelby cum suis libertatibus ei pertinentibus, quam Hugo<sup>3</sup> filius Wymar et Garnarus frater ejus eis dederunt, et ex dono Briani filii Scolandi et Hugonis filii Garnegoti unam carucatam terre et dimidiam in Fors cum omnibus suis pertinentiis. Hanc meam elemosinam et patris mei volo esse puram, liberam et quietam ab omni servicio, pro salute anime mee et omnium antecessorum meorum, ita quod omnes donaciones et confirmaciones meas prenomatas ego et heredes mei predictis monachis contra omnes homines warrantizabimus in perpetuum. Testes hujus donacionis et confirmacionis mee sunt Radulphus filius Ribaldi, Henricus<sup>4</sup> filius Akarie, etc.

See the notes to no. 23 above. In view of the account given in the foundation narrative the charter may be assigned to the year 1156, when the abbey was transferred to the new site in East Witton, or to a slightly later date. As the style *dux Britannie* was evidently used the charter was presumably issued later than the autumn of that year.

A later charter of earl Conan to Jervaulx is given at no. 67.

30. Confirmation by Conan, duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond, to the men of the soke of Gayton [le Wold, Lincs.] of all the liberties they had in the time of count Stephen, his grandfather. At Boston.

[Oct. 1156-April 1158]

PLATE V.

<sup>1</sup> Doubtless omitted in error.

<sup>2</sup> Farrer suggests *Napewath*.

<sup>3</sup> In error for *Rogerus*; see no. 24.

<sup>4</sup> *Sic*; probably in error for *Herveius*.



Duchy of Lancaster, div. x, Cartae Misc., vol. iii, f. 70.<sup>1</sup> Pd. in Round, *Ancient Charters*, Pipe Roll Soc., no. 33.

.Con[anus] dux Britan[nie]. comes Richemund[ie] dapifero suo et camerario et omnibus ministris et hominibus suis Francis et Anglis clericis et laicis. sal[utem]. Notum sit uobis omnibus me concessisse omnibus hominibus de Gaitunasoca.<sup>2</sup> easdem libertates quas habuere tempore comitis Stephani aui mei. Quare uolo et firmiter precipio quod sic omnes tenuras suas et libertates et consuetudines habeant ita plenarie et libere sicut eas tempore comitis Stephani aui mei tenuerunt. T[estibus]. Petro abbate de Mesendena. Rogero de Mumbraio. Roberto de Gant. Roberto camerario. Petro Boterel. Guarnero filio Guihumar[i]. Rogero Treantuna. Roberto filio Ricardi. Alano filio Rualdi constabuli. Lamberto de Holandia. Rannulfo filio Rober[t]i. Reginaldo Boterel. Waltero fratre Lamberti. Toma filio Lamberti. Galfrido filio Bonifacii. Briennio filio Alani. Baldrico de Sigillo. Gocelino de Rischatuna. Alano pincerna. duo filii Lam[bert]i scilicet Ricardo et Alano. Willelmo de Fenna. Radulfo de Fenna. Conano filio Roberti filii Gileberti. Apud S[anc]t[us]m<sup>3</sup> Botulfista[n]t.<sup>4</sup>

Round observes that this charter is of peculiar interest as relating to one of the old pre-conquestual franchises, which had belonged to the queen of Edward the Confessor; and he adds some notes on the early history of the soke of Gayton. He suggests *c.* 1154 as the date; but in view of Conan's style it is unlikely that the charter was issued before his return from his successful expedition to Brittany where he had gone in Sept. 1156 to claim the duchy. The latest limit of date is 1158, when Alan became constable of Richmond (see no. 47)—he had evidently not acquired that office when this charter was issued—and when Baldric de Sigillo, a canon of Lincoln, became archdeacon of Leicester, subsequently witnessing as archdeacon. As earl Conan was in Brittany in April 1158 (no. 44) it is probable that this charter was issued in the preceding year, and reasonably certain that the limits are Oct. 1156—April 1158.

It should be noted that Brian son of Alan was not, as Round observes, the founder of the Fitzalans of Bedale;<sup>5</sup> he was doubtless the Brian son of Alan of Welton le Wold who was a benefactor to Kirkstead abbey of land in Gayton, and a witness to a charter relating to Gayton, *c.* 1162.<sup>6</sup> Nor is

<sup>1</sup> The document is bound up in a volume which contains several original charters. Although Round (*loc. cit.*, p. v) apparently regarded it as an original charter of earl Conan it is at least doubtful whether it can be accepted as such. It has the appearance of a contemporary transcript, doubtless of a perfectly genuine original, or of a draft. The latter is suggested by the word marked for deletion. There is no trace of sealing. It is illustrated here for purposes of comparison. There is no endorsement except a number in a comparatively modern hand.

<sup>2</sup> Not apparently *Gaitunasoca* as in Round.

<sup>3</sup> Marked with dots underneath as if for deletion.

<sup>4</sup> If the last letter is correct, as appears to be the case, this form of the place suggests the origin "Botulf's stone"—a suggestion for which acknowledgement is due to Professor Stenton.

<sup>5</sup> See Chapter V, §7.

<sup>6</sup> Stenton, *Danelaw Charters*, nos. 165, 166; and see note to charter no. 30B below.

. Con Hug. Briton. Com. Richemund. Nro. hno. & Camerario & dñib; Gualt. & hñib; suis  
 frances & anglis clerics & laicis. Sal. Notu sit vobis omib; me coecessisse omib; hñib;  
 de Garunafoca: eade libtates qd habuere tempore Com. Stephan. dñi mei. Qd  
 volo & firmite pcepto qd sic omes tenuras suas & libtates & consuetudines habeo  
 ita p. l. enarie & libere sñt ead. tempore Com. Stephan. dñi mei tenuerunt. Et p. et alie  
 de Mesendena. Rogo de Gubio. P. bto de Gant. P. bto Camerario. p. et bto d. Guar  
 neto filio Guhumar. Rogo de Garunafoca. P. bto filio p. cardo. Alano filio p. ualdi Costa  
 buli. P. bto de holand. P. annulso filio p. bti. p. ginaldo bto d. Gualt. fñe lator. Toma  
 filio lator. Gualt. filio Bonifacii. Beremmo filius Alani. Baldrico de Sigillo. Goelino de  
 p. l. hno. Alano p. mearia. Nro filii la. & fñe p. cardo & Alano. Gualt. de fenna. Pa  
 ulso de fenna. Conano filio p. bti filii Gualt. dñi. Apd. Sñm Botuliffar.

Size 7½ by 3½ in.



there sufficient evidence to adopt Round's identification of Reginald Boterel, another witness, as Reginald, the earl's brother, who witnessed the confirmation charter to Denny priory (no. 66); his father's name was Peter (no. 30A), and he was evidently Reginald Boterel, the earl's knight, who was enfeoffed in East Witton (no. 52).

There is no doubt that *Lamberti* is the correct reading, where there is a tear in the document. Richard and Alan, sons of Lambert de Multon, were the twins who witnessed several subsequent charters of the earl. As proved by the next charter (no. 30A) they were brothers of Thomas son of Lambert [de Multon], another witness to this charter, who was the ancestor of the family of Multon.<sup>1</sup> Sometimes they occur under the name of Multon (e.g., nos. 50, 51, 57); sometimes as Richard and Alan the twins (e.g., nos. 58, 59, etc.), or merely as the two twins (e.g., no. 66). Earl Conan gave to Richard le Gimell' 1½ carucates in Saltfleetby, Lincs., for the service of half a knight, and to Alan le Gimell' 1½ carucates [probably in Somercotes, Lincs.] for the service of a quarter of a knight.<sup>2</sup> At Michaelmas 1183 Ranulf de Glanville accounted for 4*li.* 12*s.* 7*d.* for the farm of the land of Richard the twin, and 3*li.* 11*s.* 11*d.* for that of Alan the twin, in the soke of Gayton for half the year.<sup>3</sup> Alan the twin witnessed charters of duke Geoffrey and duchess Constance (nos. 80 and 82). The twins also held land in Brittany. Alan the twin gave to the abbey of Holy Cross, Quimperlé, all the rights in the vill of 'Quitthen,' which duke Conan IV gave to him and his brother Richard.<sup>4</sup>

**30A.** Confirmation by Conan, duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond, to the men of the soke of Holland [co. Lincoln] of all the tenures and liberties they had in the time of count Stephen, his grandfather. At Boston. [Oct. 1156-April 1158]

Harl. MS. 869, f. 2d, from an unknown source.<sup>5</sup>

Conanus dux Britannie [et] comes Richmund[ie] dapifero suo et camerario et omnibus ministris suis et baronibus et omnibus hominibus suis Francis et Anglis clericis et laycis salutem. Notum sit vobis omnibus tam futuris quam presentibus quod concessi omnibus hominibus de soka de Hoyland ut ita bene et in pace et honorifice et plenarie et libere omnes tenuras et libertates et liberas consuetudines quas habuerunt tempore Stephani comitis avi mei habeant et teneant. Quare prohibeo ne aliquis ex meis eis aliquam injuriam vel aliquod impedimentum inde inferant.<sup>6</sup> T[estibus], Roberto de Gaunt, Petro Boterell, Regin[ald]o

<sup>1</sup> Notes on the Multon family are given in Farrer MS., H. K. F., §§60, 63.

<sup>2</sup> *Bk. of Fees*, pp. 173, 174. For the locality of Alan's holding cf. *ibid.*, p. 1053.

<sup>3</sup> *Pipe Roll 29 Hen. II*, p. 58.

<sup>4</sup> Dom P. Le Duc, *Histoire de l'Abbaye de Sainte-Croix de Quimperlé*, p. 602.

<sup>5</sup> Written on a fly-leaf in a late fourteenth-century or early fifteenth-century hand. There is no reason to suppose that it is not a copy of an original charter. The MS. was in private possession in Lincolnshire when the copy was made. The reference is due to Mr. Charles Johnson, who has also supplied those for nos. 30B and 56A, available in time for inclusion in this volume.

<sup>6</sup> *Sic.*



filio suo, Guarnero filio Guihumar[i], Alano filio Rualdi<sup>1</sup> constabul[i], Rogero Trehamtona, Gilberto fratre suo, Baldrico de Sigillo, Willelmo fratre suo, Lamberto de Multona et Thoma et Ricardo et Alano filiis suis, Radulfo filio Ricardi, Hameline Croc, Waltero Galla, Ranulfo filio Roberti et Roberto fratre ejus. Aput Sanct'm Bothm'.

The place of issue and the names of the witnesses indicate that this charter was issued on the same occasion as no. 30. The list of witnesses is important in furnishing proof of the parentage of Reginald Boterel, and Richard and Alan de Multon, the twins.

On the same fly-leaf in the MS. there is a copy in the same hand of a precept of king Henry II, addressed to earl Conan (*comiti Conano*) and his bailiffs, that the earl's sokemen of Hoyland should hold their tenements as freely as they had held them in the time of king Henry I and count Stephen; witnessed by Alan de Neville, at Northampton.

**30B.** Confirmation by Conan, duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond, of the gifts made to Kirkstead abbey by John son of Mengi, Brian son of Alan and Hamelin Croc in the fields of Welton [le Wold, Lincs.]. [Oct. 1156-?April 1158]

Kirkstead Chartulary, Cotton MS. Vespasian E. xviii, f. 81.

C[onanus] dux Britann[ie] et comes Richemund[ie] omnibus suis hominibus et amicis Britann[ie] et Angl[ie] et universis sancte matris ecclesie filiis tam clericis quam laicis salutem. Notum sit vobis omnibus me concessisse et confirmasse donationes quas Johannes filius Mengi et Briennus filius Alani et Hamelinus Croc dederunt abbacie sancte Marie de Kirkestede et monachis ejusdem loci in campis de Welletun in puram et perpetuam elemosinam, sicut carte eorum eis testantur, liberas et quietas ab omni seculari servicio et consuetudine, pro salute mea et pro anima patris mei comitis Alani et pro animabus omnium antecessorum meorum. Test[ibus], Roberto de Gant, Alano de Mumbi, Eudone de Grainesbi.

A gift of John son of Mengi of 2 bovates of land in the fields of Welton is mentioned in king Henry II's confirmation charter to Kirkstead abbey, c. 1155.<sup>2</sup> His gift of 4 bovates there is entered in the Kirkstead Chartulary, f. 80d, in a charter which mentions Basilia his wife, among the witnesses being Alan son of the constable (and therefore not later than 1158), Brian son of Alan and Hamelin Croc. There is also a charter of his son Geoffrey on f. 81. John son of Mengi witnessed charters of earl Conan (e.g., no. 46, and see no. 28).<sup>3</sup> He had a son Conan who witnessed a later charter of the earl (no. 64). Brian son of Alan, who was of Welton le Wold, made various gifts to Kirkstead of land in Welton and Gayton; these are entered in the Chartulary on ff. 81, 81d.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Renaldi*, MS.

<sup>2</sup> Harl. Ch. 43 C. 17, pd. in Stenton, *Danelaw Charters*, no. 156.

<sup>3</sup> For a feoffment made to him by earl Conan of 4 carucates of land in Welton see Appendix to this chapter, no. ix.

<sup>4</sup> An original charter of his to Kirkstead of land in Gayton is pd. in Stenton, *Danelaw Charters*, no. 166; and see note to charter no. 30 above.



Conun' Dux Britannie ⁊ Comes Rache'm omib' suis hominib' ⁊ amicis Britannie ⁊ Anglie ⁊ Dun-  
 uel'is See archiepis ecclie filijs tam clericis qm laicis. Sat. Notum sit vob' me concessisse ⁊ dedisse ⁊ do-  
 ⁊ Albarthe de kirkstede ⁊ Monachis eidem loci tota t'ra mea de Suthorp' int' Bayton ad q'da Brimora con-  
 fruentia ut ad faciendū inde q'do voluerit. cū omib' t'ris meis cultis ⁊ incultis ⁊ communis ⁊ p'is ⁊ pas-  
 turis eid' v'gre ex omi p're adiacentib' q'ntum p'tin; ad feodu meū ⁊ omes t'ras ⁊ tenementa q' ⁊ q's hūz  
 ut h'ic potui in villa ⁊ in t'rono de Bayton. tam in d'mo q' in d'mo cū caputali man'gio meo i eadem  
 villa. Cū aduocacōe l'ctie ⁊ cū toto d'mo eid' v'le ⁊ cū omib' lib' meis lib'is ⁊ natu'is in ead' villa.  
 ⁊ cū eor' tenementis redditib' ⁊ seruiciis ⁊ consuetudinib' ⁊ p'ncipis. ⁊ cū oib' catall' natu'or' meor'. ⁊ cū oib'  
 sequet' eor'nd'. Si aliquo p'tinencia ⁊ solendū ⁊ ⁊ t'racamentū ē stagnat' oib' lib'atib' ⁊ p'ncipis ⁊ h'mis  
 ad dicta nullā q'ncūq' sp'antib' sine impedimēto meo ut h'edū meor' ut villuoz' m'oz' i'petuū. Ita q'd n' ego  
 n' h'ed' meo n' balliu' h'ed' meor' cup'as m'as uel placita m'ia i'fra lib'atib' ⁊ h'mis ⁊ Bayton tenebim'us  
 neq' abtem' n' tēnere' suos lib'os aut natu'os ad eūz m'as ut ad placita m'ia citabim' ut citare faciem' ⁊  
 aliquo t'rono sūco neq' p' breu' de p'cto n' p' aliq' alio breu'. Si sint soluta ⁊ q'ra p' nob' ⁊ h'edib' m'is ⁊ balliu'  
 m'is ab omnimoda calūpnia ⁊ consuetudine ⁊ exicōe ⁊ demanda i'petuū. p' p'ctu cōcedo ⁊ cōfirmo d'ctis Monachis  
 o'c t'ras ⁊ tenementa que ⁊ q's emerūt ut ex'ib'auerūt cū h'ob' meis q'bu'q' ⁊ tubicūq' ut q' h'it ex dono ⁊ do-







It seems reasonable to suppose that this charter was issued earlier than the general confirmation contained in the ensuing charter; but in any case the names of the witnesses suggest that it was issued in England during the same period.

31. Gift by Conan, duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond, to Kirkstead abbey of his land of Southorpe by Gayton [le Wold, Lincs.] for building a grange, and all his lands in Gayton with the advowson of the church; and confirmation of the lands which the monks had acquired from his men in Gayton, Welton le Wold, Yarborough, Grainthorpe, Boston and elsewhere in co. Lincoln; with specified privileges; paying 20s. yearly for half a carucate of land. The monks had made a payment to him of 350 *li*. At Washingborough.

[Oct. 1156-April 1158]

PLATE VI.

Original charter, Harley Ch. 48 G. 41. Pd. in Gale, *Reg. Hon. de Richmond*, app. no. xxiii.

Conanus dux Britannie et comes Richem[undie] omnibus suis hominibus et amicis Britannie et Anglie et vniuersis sancte matris ecclesie filiis tam clericis quam laicis. Sal[utem]. Notum sit uobis me concessisse et dedisse Deo et abbathie de Kirkestede et monachis eiusdem loci totam terram meam de Suthorpe iuxta Gayton ad quamdam grangiam construendam uel ad faciendum inde quicquid uoluerint. cum omnibus terris meis cultis et incultis et communiis et pratis et pasturis eidem grangie ex omni parte adiacentibus quantum pertinet ad feodum meum et omnes terras et tenementa que et quas habui uel habere potui in villa et in territorio de Gayton tam in dominico quam in dominio cum capitali managio meo in eadem villa et cum aduocatione ecclesie et cum toto dominio eiusdem uille et cum omnibus hominibus meis liberis et natiuis in eadem uilla. et cum eorum tenementis redditibus et seruiciis et consuetudinibus et pertinenciis. et cum omnibus catallis natiuorum meorum. et cum omnibus sequelis eorundem sine aliquo retinemento. molendinum etiam et taccametum cum stagno. et cum omnibus libertatibus et pertinenciis et esiamenis ad dictam uillam quomodocunque spectantibus sine impedimento mei uel heredum meorum uel balliuorum nostrorum imperpetuum. Ita quod nec ego nec heredes mei nec balliui heredum meorum curias nostras uel placita nostra infra libertates et limites de Gayton tenebimus neque abbatem nec tenentes suos liberos aut natiuos ad curias nostras uel ad placita nostra citabimus uel citare faciemus pro aliquo terreno seruicio neque pro breui de recto nec pro aliquo alio breui. sed sint soluti et quieti pro nobis et heredibus nostris et balliuis nostris ab omnimoda calumpnia et consuetudine et exaccione et demanda imperpetuum. Preterea concedo et confirmo dictis monachis omnes terras et tenementa que et quas emerunt uel excambiauerunt cum hominibus meis quibuscunque et ubicunque uel que habent ex dono et dimissione eorundem hominum per totum dominium meum. in Gaiton. Welton iuxta Gaiton. Yerburg. Germunthorp. sanctum Botulphum. et alibi ubique in feodo meo in comitatu Lincolnie.

Omnia predicta dedi et concessi Deo et beate Marie et monachis de Kirkestede cum saca et soca et tol. et theam et infangenthef et houtfangenthef. cum omnimoda forisfactura que ad murdrum et ad latrocinium pertinent. libera. et soluta. et quieta de omnibus placitis et querelis. et de omnibus geldis. scutagiis et auxiliis. mihi et heredibus meis qualitercunque spectantibus. Concedo similiter et confirmo eisdem monachis quod si aliqui vitam uel menbrum debeant amittere. uel fugerint et iudicio stare noluerint. uel aliquod delictum fecerint pro quo catalla uel uitam uel menbrum debeant amittere. vt omnia predicta et iudicia predictorum sint dictis monachis sine calumpnia mei uel heredum meorum aut balliuorum dictorum heredum meorum imperpetuum. cum omnibus libertatibus quas dominus Henricus rex Anglie filius imperatricis mihi et heredibus meis prius concesserat. in ita liberam puram et perpetuam elemosinam. sicut aliqua elemosina liberius et quicuius teneri potest uel haberi. preter quod dabunt mihi et heredibus meis annuatim ad festum sancti Botulphi pro una dimidia carucata terre. xx<sup>ti</sup>. solidos tantum. non faciendo aliquam fidelitatem uel aliquod aliud terrenum seruicium. Pro hac autem concessione dederunt mihi predicti monachi. CCC<sup>tas</sup>. et L. libris<sup>1</sup> sterlingorum. quare rogo omnes amicos meos pro amore Iesu Christi. vt sint eis propicii et pacifici et fauorabiles. et ego et heredes mei warrantizabimus acquietabimus et defendemus dictis monachis omnia predicta sicut nostram liberam puram et perpetuam elemosinam contra omnes homines imperpetuum. Hiis testibus. Baldrico de Sygillo. Rannulfo canonico. Rogero de Moubrai. Willelmo de Vesci. Hamone Boterell'. Lamberto de Mult[ona]. Rogero Trehant[ona]. Roberto camerario. Goscelino de Richinot. Alano de Mumbi. Eundone de Greinesbi. Alfredo de Pointon[a]. Fulcone. Ribald'. Apud Wasingburg'.

*Small fragment of seal of yellow wax.*

A comparison of the witnesses suggests that this charter was issued during the same visit of the earl to Lincolnshire as nos. 30 and 30A issued at Boston, and the ensuing charter also issued at Washingborough.

32. Confirmation by Conan, duke of Britanny and earl of Richmond, to Rufford abbey of the gift which Roscelin son of Richard and Ralph his brother had made of the wood called Rahage [in Hockerton, Notts.]. At Washingborough. [Oct. 1156-April 1158]

Rufford Chartulary, Harl. MS. 1063, f. 90.

Conanus<sup>2</sup> dux Britan[nie] et comes Richem[undie] omnibus filiis sancte ecclesie salutem. Sciatis me concessisse et per presentem cartam confirmasse Deo et ecclesie sancte Marie de Ruffordia illam donacionem quam Roscelinus filius Ricardi et Radulfus frater ejus prefate ecclesie dederunt, scilicet nemus quod vocatur Rahage, pro salute anime mee et pro anima patris mei et antecessorum meorum in perpetuam elemosinam. Hiis testibus, Roberto de Gant,<sup>3</sup> Rogero de Momb[rai], Hamone Botereux,<sup>4</sup> Petro Botereux,<sup>4</sup> Baldwino de Gant,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sic.

<sup>3</sup> Gaunt, MS.

<sup>2</sup> Comes, MS.

<sup>4</sup> Boterel is doubtless intended.

Willelmo de Vescy, Gaufrido de Gant, Radulfo filio Ricardi, Wygano filio Cad[es]. Apud Wassingburc.<sup>1</sup>

-For a charter of earl Alan relating to this wood, and a note of Roscelin's gift to Rufford, see no. 14.

33. Confirmation by Conan, duke of Britanny and earl of Richmond, son of earl Alan, to the abbey of St. Mary, York, for the souls of his father's uncles, namely counts Alan Rufus and Alan Niger, of their gifts and the gifts of his grandfather count Stephen and of his father earl Alan and of his barons, yavassors, knights and drengs; [as in no. 8], together with the cell of Rumburgh [Suffolk], which his father had given. At York. [Oct. 1156-April 1158]

Inspeximus on Patent Roll, 10 Edward II, pt. i, m. 11. Pd. in *Mon. Ang.*, iii, 550.

Notum sit omnibus legentibus et audientibus litteras has quod ego Conanus dux Britannie et comes Richmundie, Alani comitis filius, concessi et dedi et presenti carta confirmavi ecclesie sancte Marie Eboraci et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus, in puram et perpetuam elemosinam, pro me ipso et pro salute patris et matris mee et pro animabus avunculorum patris mei, comitum videlicet Alani Rufi et Alani Nigri, quicquid ipsi avunculi patris mei comites et avus meus comes Stephanus et pater meus Alanus dederunt sive confirmaverunt, et quicquid barones mei et vavassores et milites et drengs dederunt eidem ecclesie, et in terris et in ecclesiis et in decimis, in foris, in silvis, in planis et in aquis, in pratis, in pascuis, in piscariis, in stagnis, in molendinis, et nominatim villam de Fuleford, cum tota soca sua, et omnes tenuras et beneficia que antecessores mei comites predictae abbacie dederunt, concedo ab omni terreno servicio quietam et liberam, preter orationes et elemosinas, imperpetuum eidem ecclesie possidenda, que subscribuntur hic. [*the same benefactions<sup>2</sup> as are detailed in the charter of count Stephen, no. 8 above; with the addition*] et cellam de Romburgh quam pater meus eidem ecclesie dedit, cum omnibus pertinentiis suis. Hec itaque omnia . . . . . possidet [*as in no. 8*]. Hiis testibus, Roberto de Gant, Petro Boterel, Roberto camerario, Hamelino cancellario, Herveo filio Acheris, Guarnerio filio Guimari,<sup>3</sup> David lardenario, Willelmo vicecomite, Wygano filio Cades, Gaufrido Boniface, Willelmo filio Roaldi, Arnaldo clerico, Eudone le mareschal, et aliis multis. Apud Eboracum.

The witnesses suggest the same limits of date as for the three preceding charters. Apart from the earl's style it is improbable that he can have had a chancellor among his officials before he became possessed of the duchy of Britanny in 1156. This seems to be the latest period when Robert the chamberlain occurs as a witness; he witnessed nos. 30 and 31.

<sup>1</sup> Wossingburc, MS.

<sup>2</sup> Variations in spelling, *Richemund, Raueneswath, Crofth, Smitona, Hocheswella, Stoctuna* (for *Scottuna*), *Langhetorn, Risewyth, Brinningstona, Horneby, Middeltona, Scirebeck, Heselingafeld, Bassyngbur, Wicre*; instead of *Parva Daneby, in Daneby j. carrucata terre*.

<sup>3</sup> *Summari*, M.A., in error.



34. Gift by Conan, duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond, to Durham priory of the church of Carleton in the soke of Costessey [Norfolk], subject to the life-tenure of Robert de Wengham. At Richmond. [Oct. 1156-April 1158]

PLATE VII.

Original charter in Durham Treasury, 3-3 Ebor. 43. Pd. in Clarkson, *Richmond*, app. no. v.<sup>1</sup>

.C. dux Britannie comes Richemundie dapifero suo et camerario et omnibus ministris suis et hominibus Francis et Anglis sal[utem]. Notum sit uobis me concessisse et dedisse in puram et perpetuam elemosinam Deo et sancto Cuthberto et monachis ipsi sancto seruientibus ecclesiam de Karletune in soca de Costeseie. hac inter me et monachos sancti Cuthberti conuentione. quod Rodbertus de Wengham hanc eandem prefatam ecclesiam dum uixerit teneat. et post discessum eiusdem Rodberti prephata ecclesia Deo et sancto Cuthberto et monachis eius in perpetuam elemosinam permaneat: .T[estibus]. Warnero filio Gvimeri. Alano filio constabularii. Brieno filio Scotlandi. Herueio filio Akarie. Raginaldo de Cornubia. Will[elmo] filio constabularii. Rodberto de Wengham. Hernald[o] clerico. Gvigeieno filio Edredi. Hamelino filio Gaufridi. Apud Richemundiam.

*Seal: equestrian, obverse and reverse.*<sup>2</sup>

No satisfactory identification of Carleton, the church of which was the subject of this charter, appears to be available. The soke of Costessey suggests Carleton Forehoe or Carleton Rode; but no light is thrown in the accounts of these places in Blomefield's *Norfolk* (vol. i, 652; iii, 82). The gift had no permanent effect; and there seems to be no record to show that the church was ever effectively possessed by the monks of Durham. The later limit of date is indicated by the fact that Alan, the second witness, had not yet become constable in succession to his father.

35. Confirmation by Conan, duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond, to the church of St. John the Baptist (place not named) and the brethren serving God there of the hermitage of 'Wogobiliche' in his wood of Cheshunt [co. Hertford]. At Cheshunt.

[Oct. 1156-April 1158]

PLATE VIII.

Original charter, B.M. Add. Ch. 28335.

Con[anus] dux Britannie comes de Richemund[ia] omnibus filiis sancte matris ecclesie et dapifero suo et camerario suo et omnibus ministris suis et omnibus hominibus suis Francis et Anglis et omnibus Britonibus et omnibus beniuolis suis. sal[utem]. Sciatis me concessisse et hac mea carta confirmasse Deo et ecclesie sancti Johannis baptiste et fratribus ibidem Deo seruientibus scilicet Anschetillo et Willelmo atque Lahemano et ceteris successoribus suis heremitorium de Wogob-

<sup>1</sup> After *Costeseie* Clarkson adds *in Norwicensi diocesi*, which is not in the original.

<sup>2</sup> *Durham Seals*, no. 398; illustrated there in plate i.

C. Dux Britannie Comes richemunde dapifero suo ⁊ camerario ⁊  
 oib; ministris suis ⁊ hoib; francis ⁊ anglis sal. Hocu sit uob me co-  
 cessisse ⁊ debisse in pura ⁊ ppetua elemosina deo ⁊ sco cuthbro ⁊ mo-  
 nachis ipse sco seruientib; epolan s karleuine foca s costeleic: hac  
 int me ⁊ monachos sco cuthbro conueniunt qd Rodbe s wengha hanc can-  
 dem ppta epolan dum usq; teneat. ⁊ p decessu ejus uobis pphata epola  
 deo ⁊ sco cuthbro ⁊ monachis et in ppetua elemosina pmaneat: T. Wernego  
 tit Gvini. Alano tit constabulari. Wyeno tit scotlandi. herueo tit alane  
 agnaldo de cumbria. Will tit constabulari. Rodbe s wengha. hornali de  
 co. Gvngeno tit edua. hamelino tit tawfrid. apd richemundia.









Con Dux britannie Com de Richemund Omib; filius scē matisee 7 Mayo suo  
 7 Camario suo 7 Omib; milib; suis 7 Omib; hoib; suis francis 7 anglis 7 Omib;  
 britonib; 7 Omib; benivolis suis. sal. Sciatis me cōcessisse 7 hac mea carta cōfir-  
 masse deo 7 eccle scī iohannis baptiste 7 frīb; ibidem deo seruientib; scē anse-  
 ellio 7 Willmo aq; lahemano 7 ecclis successorib; suis heremitorum de Wogobi-  
 liche in nemore meo de cestreth p salute anime mee. nec non & oīm antecessorum  
 meorū. Mando g; 7 uob; sumit pceptio ut eos in pace dei 7 scī iohis & mei cōdici  
 ac cultores eidem loci honeste manuteneatis. Pceptio ē uob; qm nem meum  
 pnt necesse est fuisse sine uastatione punitatis. Et Radb; de Gant. Pet per  
 botel. Rodbro filio althar. Willmo filio fised. Wigano filio cadi. hec carta fuit  
 facta tēpe hamelin cancellari ap cestreth.



iliche in nemore meo de Cestre[unt] pro salute anime mee. nec non et omnium antecessorum meorum. Mando igitur et uobis firmiter precipio ut eos in pace Dei et sancti Johannis et mei custodiatis ac cultores eiusdem loci honorifice manuteneatis. Precipio etiam uobis quatinus nemo meum prout necesse eis fuerit sine uastacione permittatis. T[estibus]. Rodbertus de Gante.<sup>1</sup> Petro petro Botel'.<sup>2</sup> Rodberto filio Ahelard'. Willelmo filio Sired. Wigano filio Cadi. Hec carta fuit facta tempore Hamelini cancellarii apud Cestreh[unt].

*Seal on a tongue of the parchment; yellow wax; central portion of an equestrian seal, obverse and reverse.*<sup>3</sup>

The church of St. John and the hermitage have not been identified. The charter, which is among a large collection of charters relating to Hatfield priory, Essex, is endorsed, with the date 1677: 'very curious antient deeds without dates moste concerne the priory of Hatfeild from Con[an] duke of Brittain and earle of Richmund et al[iis]'. This priory, however, was not dedicated in honour of St. John.

The mention of Hamelin the chancellor, who witnessed no. 33 and held the office in 1158 (see nos. 44 and 49), and who was later succeeded by Robert de Guingamp, suggests that this charter was issued during the same visit of the earl to England as the immediately preceding charters. A comparison of the witnesses points to the same conclusion.

**36. Notification by Conan, duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond, of his protection of Easby abbey, and of his gift of a carucate of his demesne land.** [1156-62]

Easby Chartulary, Egerton MS. 2827, f. 321d.

Conanus dux Britannie et comes Rich[emundie] etc. Sciatis me abbatiam sancte Agathe, cum omnibus tenuris suis et possessionibus tamquam meis, et fratres ejusdem loci tamquam meos fratres, sub mea protectione suscepisse, et unam carucatam terre de meo dominico feodo dedisse, ut eam habeant cum omnibus pertinenciis suis de me et de meis heredibus, in puram et perpetuam elemosinam, liberam et quietam ab omni servicio et omni consuetudine. T[estibus].

In pope Alexander III's confirmation charter to Easby abbey<sup>4</sup> dated 15 Oct. 1162, there is included the gift of earl Conan of a carucate of land of his demesne and 3 other carucates elsewhere. This gives the latest limit of date for this charter. As there are also included in the papal confirmation a gift of Richard de Rollos, and gifts of 2 carucates in Hesselton, a carucate in Carperby, and land in Brompton it is probable that nos. 37 and 39 were no later in date. It is evident that no. 38 was issued earlier than no. 39, and the 3 carucates thereby given may be those mentioned in the papal confirmation.

<sup>1</sup> This is doubtless intended; cf. the witnesses in nos. 32 and 33. As written the name looks like *Garite*.

<sup>2</sup> *Sic. Petro Botel* is intended.

<sup>3</sup> *B.M. Cat. of Seals*, no. 5758; being the same seal as no. 5759.

<sup>4</sup> See Chapter V, §2.

37. Confirmation by Conan, duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond, at the petition of Richard de Rollos, of all the gifts which the said Richard had given or would give to Easby abbey.

[1156-?1162]

Easby Chartulary, Egerton MS. 2827, f. 321d.

Archiepiscopo Eboracensi etc. Conanus dux Britannie et comes Richem[undie] etc. Sciatis me concessisse et hac mea carta confirmasse petitione Ricardi de Rollos omnes donaciones et elemosinas quas idem Ricardus dedit et daturus est canonicis sancte Agathe de Richem[undia], in terris et in possessionibus, cartis ejus testantibus, exceptis illis terris quas alia carta mea a servicio meo eis quietas clamavi. Quare volo et precipio ut si quis eos de elemosinis predictis inpedierit eos manuteneatis et adjuvetis et firmam pacem meam habere faciatis. T[estibus].

Some charters of Richard de Rollos to Easby will be printed in Chapter V, §2. It is possible that the 'alia carta' of the earl is no. 39, which contains a quitclaim of service from specified lands; in that case no. 39 was issued earlier than no. 37.

38. Gift by Conan, duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond, to Easby abbey of the land of Little Hutton [par. Wycliffe], formerly belonging to Eudo de Grenesby, namely 3 carucates.

[1156-?1162]

Easby Chartulary, Egerton MS. 2827, f. 321.

Conanus dux Britannie comes Richem[undie] archiepiscopo Eboracensi et omnibus sancte matris ecclesie filiis etc. Notum sit vobis me dedisse et concessisse Deo et ecclesie sancte Agathe et canonicis ibi Deo servantibus totam terram de Parva Hoton' que fuit Eudonis de Grenesby, scilicet tres carucatas terre, in puram et perpetuam elemosinam, pro salute anime mee etc. Et volo quod eam plenarie habeant et teneant, liberam et quietam atque solutam ab omni servicio et consuetudine cum omnibus ei pertinentibus. Si quis autem eis calumpniam vel molestiam inde fecerit ego eam integram illis warrantizabo in plano et bosco, in terris et aquis, in piscariis et molendinis, in campis et pratis et pasturis et mariscis,<sup>1</sup> in viis et semitis et in omnibus locis eidem pertinentibus. Hii t[estes].

For Eudo de Grenesby, the founder of Greenfield priory, Lincs., see Chapter V, §29.

39. Gift by Conan, duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond, to Easby abbey of the land of Scales as Warin the bowman held it in the time of earl Alan his father, and 20 acres in augmentation near the land which they had of him on Gilling moor; these lands being in anticipation of an exchange for Little Hutton which they had of him. Also gift of a messuage at Boston, and a tithe

<sup>1</sup> *marcis*, MS.



of his fair of Richmond; and quitclaim of the service of the lands which the canons held of his men, namely, 2 carucates in Hesselton, a carucate in Carperby, a carucate in Brompton, and all Warth. [In Brittany]. [1156-?1162]

Easby Chartulary, Egerton MS. 2827, f. 321.

Sciunt universi etc. quod ego Conanus dux Britannie et comes Rich[emundie] do et concedo canonicis sancte Agathe de Rich[emundia] totam terram de Scales sicut Warinus archarius eam melius et plenarius tenuit tempore Alani comitis patris mei et per easdem divisas in plano et in bosco, in pratis, in pascuis, in campis et in aquis et in omnibus locis eidem terre pertinentibus. Do etiam et concedo eis xx. acras terre ad incrementum juxta terram quam habent de me in mora de Gellyng', ut has terras habeant et teneant de me et de meis heredibus in puram et perpetuam elemosinam, pro anima patris mei et animabus antecessorum meorum, liberas et quietas ab omnibus serviciis et consuetudinibus et exactionibus. Has terras do eis in expectatione excambii pro Parva Hoton' quam habuerunt de me, ut quando in Angliam venero ad valenciam ejus super hoc excambium illis perficiam. De cetero autem do et concedo illis unam mansuram apud sanctum Botulphum ad magnitudinem mansure monachorum de Kirkestede. Eodem modo sicut et ceteras predictas terras quin etiam do illis et concedo totam decimam ferie mee de Richem[undia] sine aliquo impedimento vel retinemento. Item clamo illis quietum totum servicium quod ad me pertinet omnium terrarum quas modo de hominibus meis tenent, scilicet de ij. carucatis terre de Heselt[ona] et de una de Kerperbya et de j. carucata terre in Brunt[ona] et de tota terra de Warth. Test[ibus].

For Scales, near Gilling, see no. 22 above. Warth is represented by Wath Cote, par. Easby; see the charters relating thereto under Easby in Chapter V, §2.

40. Confirmation by Conan, duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond, to Odulf son of Peter de Richmond of a carucate of land in Skeeby [par. Easby], which Richard [de] Rollos had given him. [1156-71]

Easby Chartulary, Egerton MS. 2827, f. 321d.

Conanus dux Britannie comes Rich[emundie] dapifero suo, constabulario, camerario suo et omnibus ministris suis et omnibus hominibus suis Francis et Anglis salutem. Notum sit vobis omnibus me concessisse et hac mea carta confirmasse Odulfo filio Petri de Rich[emundia] unam carucatam terre in Scitheby quam Ricardus Rollos ei dedit pro servicio suo, in toftis et croftis, de quibus saysitus fuit die qua carta sua facta fuit, ita libere et quiete sicut carta sua testatur. T[estibus].

For the charter of Richard de Rollos making this gift to Odulf son of Peter see Chapter V, §2.



41. Notification to his officials by Conan, duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond, of his gift to Robert his usher of a plot of land for building a house, between the land of Lucy and the bridge of Richmond castle; because he was the earl's household servant and had served him well. [1156-71]

Easby Chartulary, Egerton MS. 2827, f. 321d.

Conanus dux Britannie comes Rich[emundie] dapifero suo etc. Notum sit vobis omnibus me concessisse et dedisse Roberto meo hostiario quandam placeam ad domum bonam edificandam, scilicet illam in qua<sup>1</sup> furnum meum habui et ubi Jocius fuit manens, scilicet inter terram Lucie et pontem castelli de Richem[undia], ubi largam domum apparare possit. Quare volo firmiterque precipio quod ipse et sui heredes hanc predictam terram habeant et teneant bene<sup>2</sup> et in pace et honorifice et quiete, liberam et quietam [ab] omni servicio et consuetudine, quia ipse meus est famulus et bene mihi servivit. Et precipio ne aliquis ei aliquod impedimentum inde inferat. T[estibus].<sup>3</sup>

42. Mandate of Conan, duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond, to his steward, constable and sheriff to cause his monks of St. Martin [Richmond] to have a tithe of his mills of Richmond. [1156-71]

Pd. in *Mon. Ang.*, iii, 602, from a MS. in the possession of the heir of Cuthbert Pepper, esq., in 1620; Clarkson, *Richmond*, app. no. xli, from the same.

Conanus dux Britannie et comes Richemundie dapifero suo et constabulario et vicecomiti et ceteris ministris suis salutem. Sciatis quod volo et firmiter precipio quod monachi mei de sancto Martino plenarie habeant decimam molendinorum meorum que sunt Riche-mundie. Quare mando vobis quod, sicut me et salutem predecessorum meorum diligitis, faciatis eis ad statutos terminos sine omni occasione predictam decimam reddi quocunque modo voluerint sive in blado sive in denariis xx. s. qui ad predictam decimam pertinent cum de molendinis decem libras recipio; quod si decimam dare noluerint qui molendina in firma tenent, tunc precipio quatenus eos per catella sua decimam reddere compellatis ne ego et predecessores mei periculum anime incurramus. Valete.<sup>4</sup>

The cell of St. Martin, Richmond, was included in count Stephen's charter to St. Mary's, York (no. 8). Several charters relating to the cell will be printed in Chapter V. See also the documents printed in *Mon. Ang.*, iii, 603.

43. Confirmation by Conan IV to the abbey of Coatmalouen [Britanny, dept. Côtes-du-Nord]. [1156-71]

Pd. in Lobineau, *Histoire de Bretagne*, ii, col. 1645; Morice, *Histoire de Bretagne, Preuves*, i, col. 641; from a modern copy.

<sup>1</sup> quam, MS.

<sup>2</sup> in bene, MS.

<sup>3</sup> Query *Valete*, as the document is in the form of a writ to the officials.

<sup>4</sup> *Testibus hiis* as pd. in M.A. and C.

Charter of Conan, duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond, taking under his protection and confirming in its possessions the abbey of Coatmalouen founded by his father Alan.

'Hujus rei assertores et testes sunt quorum nomina subscribuntur, Roaudus episcopus Venet[ensis], Willelmus Trec[orensis] episcopus, Daniel abbas, Aldroenus prior, Ivo, Iarnittim, Guethenocus, Eudo de Lanforn, magister Robertus canonicus, H[enricus] comes, Roaut Pot cum filio suo altero Roaut Pot, Johannes filius Hamonis, Alfridus filius Rivaut, Alliou et Alfreidus frater ejus filii Rivallon.'

The witnesses do not assist in fixing any narrower limits of date than those given above. Henry the count was Conan's uncle, being the youngest son of count Stephen; he died in 1183.<sup>1</sup>

#### 44. Confirmation by Conan IV to the abbey of St. Melaine, Rennes. At Rennes. 22 April 1158.

Pd. in Lobineau, *Histoire de Bretagne*, ii, col. 305; Morice, *Histoire de Bretagne, Preuves*, i, col. 632; from the archives of the abbey of St. Melaine at Rennes.

Charter by which 'Conanus dux totius Britannie et comes de Richemont,' with the counsel of his barons and assent of his mother the countess Bertha, confirms to the abbey of St. Melaine at Rennes the gifts which Alan 'Ruibriz', duke of Brittany, and Bertha his most famous countess made to the church on its rebuilding; he also confirms a gift by his hereditary moneyer, William son of Hervey son of Martin.

'Actum anno ab incarnatione Domini MCLVIII. Testes hujus confirmationis sunt: Radulfus Filgeriensis, Rollandus de Dinan, et Hamo de (*sic*) Boterel dapifer, qui hoc etiam postulaverunt et laudaverunt; Guido dapifer, Philippus de Campania, Oliverius de Apinneio, Tebaldus de Chanpes, Galterius de Sellan, Leones, Henricus de Castelerio, Robertus de Givresie, Guillelmus de Lence, Herveus de Guite. Hoc autem factum est in camera episcopi Redonensis. Tertia die Pasche. Data per manum Hamelini cancellarii, x Kal. Maii.'

It is convenient to examine this and the ensuing five charters together. They were all issued in Brittany, five of them at Rennes. The first is dated 22 April 1158, and the last 22 Sept. in the same year. The second is dated 1158. A comparison of the witnesses makes it reasonably certain that the remainder belong to the same year. No less than seven of the witnesses to the fourth (no. 47), issued at Fougères, are identical with witnesses to the second, issued at Rennes. The fact that the fourth (no. 47), restoring the constablership of Richmond to Alan son of Roald, can be dated 1158 is of particular importance for dating several charters belonging to the middle of the twelfth century. As the fifth and last charters of the series were witnessed by Alan the constable it is certain that they were issued after the fourth.

Alan 'Ruibriz,' duke of Brittany, mentioned in the first charter, was Alan III who died in 1040, elder brother of count Eudo, Conan's paternal great-grandfather.

<sup>1</sup> See Chapter II.

Of the Breton witnesses to these charters Ralph de Fougères was son of Henry de Fougères by Olive daughter of count Stephen, and therefore Conan's first cousin;<sup>1</sup> William Angevin was Ralph's brother; Guy the dapifer was steward of Rennes (see no. 51); and Sechard was steward of Fougères; Robert de Guingamp, who witnessed no. 47 as chamberlain and was later chancellor (see no. 64), had no connection with the English tenants who held the office of chamberlain; in no other charter of earl Conan except no. 44 is Hamo Boterel described as *dapifer*.<sup>2</sup> It will be noticed that Hamelin occurs as chancellor in the first and last of the series. Among the heads of local religious houses were the abbots of St. Melaine, Rennes; St. Peter, Fougères; Bégard (dio. Tréguier); St. Aubin-des-Bois (dio. St. Brieuc); and St. Mary, Bouden (dio. St. Brieuc).

45. Confirmation by Conan, duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond, to Fountains abbey of the gift made by earl Alan his father in the moor of Moulton; and gift of sixty acres of land which the monks had cultivated in the moor since the time of his father, and of common of pasture for their oxen of the grange, twelve cows and two hundred sheep; and confirmation of the agreement which they had made with Meldred and Gilomichael de Middleton and Elsi de Kneeton in respect of land in the moor of Middleton [Tyas], which agreement was made before him and his barons in his castle of Richmond. At Rennes. 1158.

Fountains Chartulary, Cotton MS. Tiberius C. xii, f. 316 (old f. 313).<sup>3</sup>  
Abst. in *Fountains Chartulary*, ed. Lancaster, p. 195.

Conanus dux Britannie et comes Richemund[ie]<sup>4</sup> omnibus ministris et hominibus suis et universis sancte matris ecclesie filiis clericis et laicis salutem. Notum sit vobis omnibus tam futuris quam presentibus me concessisse et confirmasse Deo et ecclesie sancte Marie de Fontibus et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus in puram et perpetuam elemosinam, pro salute mea et pro anima patris mei et pro animabus omnium meorum antecessorum, liberam et quietam ab omni seculari servicio, donacionem quam pater meus comes Alanus eis in mora de Moltonia<sup>5</sup> concessit et dedit, et quicquid ipsi<sup>6</sup> tempore ejus tenuerunt et eisdem divisio dono et concedo eis.<sup>7</sup> Et insuper do eis et concedo sexaginta acras terre quas post [tempus mei] patris in eadem mora ceperunt et coluerunt et do [eis ad incrementum] patris communem pasturam cum meis<sup>9</sup> hominibus de Moltonia<sup>5</sup> [ad omnes]<sup>10</sup> suos boves de illa grangia et ad duodecim vaccas et ad [?] cc. oves in perpetuam et puram elemosinam. Precipio etiam ut omnia ista in pace et in quiete

<sup>1</sup> See note to no. 73.

<sup>2</sup> He was probably a steward in Brittany and not in England.

<sup>3</sup> There is another copy (A) of this charter on f. 315 (old f. 312). It ends with the last witness, no place or date being given.

<sup>4</sup> *de Richemont*, A.

<sup>5</sup> *Multunna*, A.

<sup>6</sup> *dedit, sicut ipsi omnia*, A.

<sup>7</sup> *divisis quibus ille illis eam concessit*, A.

<sup>8</sup> *quas ipsi coluerunt* [a word torn] *ad incrementum*, A.

<sup>9</sup> *meis* omitted in A.

<sup>10</sup> Supplied from A; torn at the edge.





Con dux britan. et comes richemund. omib' suis hoib' et amicus britan. et anglie et uniuersis suis matris ecclesie filius tam clericis q' laicis. sal.  
 Hecum sit uob' omib' me concessisse et dedisse. deo et abbate de kircasted. et monachis eius loci ecclesia de garuna. et duas carrucas et circ. et di  
 midia. de mo dno in capis de garuna cum fructu q' uocat garuna rethage cum omib' q' ad has duas carrucas et dimidia pertinet.  
 in totis et circ. et in uis et sentis in pratis et pasturis et aquis et molendinis in pueri et ppetua deuotione habere et quere et habere et ab  
 omi sectari seruato et conseruatione q' ad aliqui hoien s' ad citam illam pertinent q' salute mea. et p anima pat' mei cum alani. et p alio  
 omnium antecessor meorum et omnium parentum meorum. T. Guallo abbe s'ci medani redon. Guallo abbe de filgus. Guallo de dno stabulato de filgus.  
 hamone botard. Ricardus de rolis. Teobaldo de champell. Johes filius mengun. Robtus frater com. S'cristo dapifero de filgus. Henricus de castellario  
 henricus britan. Arnaldo de ricio de richem. eudene marescal. apud redon.



teneant et possideant et ne aliquis ullam molestiam aut ullam perturbacionem eis faciat.<sup>1</sup> Confirmo etiam eis hac mea carta pactionem quam fecerunt cum Meldredo et Gilomichaele<sup>2</sup> de Mideltonia<sup>3</sup> et cum Elsie de Knietonia de xl. acris terre in mora de Mideltonia<sup>3</sup> pro duobus solidis annuatim pro [omni servicio et de]<sup>4</sup> tribus acris in eadem mora quas hii preminati dederunt et concesserunt eis in puram et perpetuam elemosinam. Hec pactio et hec donatio facta fuit coram me et coram meis baronibus in meo castello de Richemund.<sup>5</sup> Testes qui hoc viderunt et audierunt: Willermus abbas sancti Melanii Redon[ensis], Willermus abbas de Filgeriis, Rollandus de Dinan, Radulfus de Filgeriis, Hamo Boterel, Ricardus de Rolos, [Johannes] filius Mengui, Henricus Bertran, Robertus frater comitis, Se....<sup>6</sup> senescallus de Filgeriis, Theobaldus de Champellis, Henricus [de Caste]llario, Paganus de sancto Bricio, Liones, Ernaldus clericus de Richem[und], Eudo marescallus, Henricus filius Radulfi de [Guil]-lingue.<sup>7</sup> Actum Redon', anno domini M<sup>o</sup>C<sup>o</sup>L<sup>o</sup>VIII<sup>o</sup>.

The gift made by earl Alan was of Cowton grange [in Moulton]; this is described as the grange of Cowton moor in a confirmation charter issued by king Henry II in May 1155.<sup>8</sup> For another gift of earl Alan see no. 18.

Some charters relating to Middleton Tyas and Moulton, demesne lands of the honour, are printed below in Chapter III. For a later charter of earl Conan see no. 56.

46. Gift by Conan, duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond, to Kirkstead abbey of the church of Gayton [le Wold, Lincs.] and 2½ carucates of land with a spinney there; for the soul of earl Alan his father. At Rennes. [1158]

PLATE IX.

Original charter, Harley Ch. 48 G. 40. Pd. in F. M. Stenton, *Danelaw Charters* (British Academy), no. 162; also in *Mon. Ang.*, v, 421, from the Kirkstead Chartulary, f. 79d.<sup>9</sup>

Con[anus] dux Britannie et comes Richemund[ie]. omnibus suis hominibus et amicis Britannie et Anglie et uniuersis sancte matris ecclesie filiis tam clericis quam laicis. sal[utem]. Notum sit uobis omnibus me concessisse et dedisse Deo et abbacie de Kircasteda et monachis eiusdem loci ecclesiam de Gaituna. et duas carrucas terre et dimidium. de meo dominio in campis de Gaituna cum fructecto quod uocatur Gaituna Rohage. cum omnibus que ad has duas carrucas et dimidium

<sup>1</sup> After *oves* to *faciat* omitted in A.

<sup>2</sup> *Gillomichael*, A.

<sup>3</sup> *Mideltunna*, A.

<sup>4</sup> Supplied from A.

<sup>5</sup> This clause omitted in A.

<sup>6</sup> Torn; not apparently *Secharthus*, but doubtless some variant of the name.

<sup>7</sup> Witnesses in A: 'Guillelmus abbas sancti Melanii, Guillelmus abbas Filgeriensis, Rollandus de Dinan, Radulfus de Filgeriis, Hamo Boterel, Richardus de Rolles, Tebaldus de Chanpels, Johannes filius Mengui, Robertus frater comitis, Secharthus senescallus, Henricus de Castellerio, Rahernauidus clericus de Richemont, Eudo mariscaudus, Henricus filius Radulfi de Guillingue.'

<sup>8</sup> *E.Y.C.*, no. 76.

<sup>9</sup> Only the first four witnesses are there given.

pertinent. in toftis et croftis. in uiis et semitis in pratis et pasturis et aquis et molendinis in puram et perpetuam elemosinam. libere et quiete et honorifice ab omni seculari seruitio et consuetudine que ad aliquem hominem uel ad terram illam pertinent pro salute mea. et pro anima patris mei comitis Alani. et pro animabus omnium antecessorum meorum et omnium parentum meorum. T[estibus]. Guill[elm]o abbate sancti Melanii Redon[ensis]. Gull[elm]o abbate de Filgeriis. Rollando de Dinan. Radulfo de Filgeriis. Hamone Boterel. Ricardo de Rolos. Teobaldo de Chanpels. Johanne filio Mengui. Roberto fratre comitis. Sequardo dapifero de Filgeriis. Henrico de Castellario. Henrico Bertran. Eraldo clerico de Richem[undia]. Eudone marescal. Apud Redon[es].

*Seal: yellow wax; equestrian, obverse and reverse.*<sup>1</sup>

The earlier history of the 2½ carucates and spinney in Gayton, given to the abbey by earl Conan in his minority, appears in no. 28. See also no. 31, in which he gave the advowson of the church. A later charter, adding a further half carucate, is given at no. 64.

47. Restoration by Conan, duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond, to Alan his constable and his heirs of his constableness with its belongings, all the fee of Enisand Musard and that of Hervey son of Morinus, a carucate of land in Sedbury [Gilling], and all the lands and tenements of his father Roald the constable, as the latter had held them in the time of the duke's ancestors, namely, count Stephen his grandfather and earl Alan his father, and as the charters of king Henry [I] his great-grandfather, count Stephen his grandfather and earl Alan his father bore witness. At Fougères.

[1158]

PLATE X.

Original charter, Westminster Abbey Muniments, no. 1415. Pd. in *Yorks. Deeds*, vii, no. 450 (p. 200), with facsimile (plate 1).

Con[anus] dux Brit[annie] comes Richemund[ie] dap[ifer]o suo et camerario et omnibus baronibus suis et omnibus ministris suis et omnibus hominibus et amicis suis Francis et Anglis atque Britonibus. sal[utem]. Notum sit uobis omnibus me concessisse et reddidisse Alano meo constab[ulari]o suum constabulatum cum apertinentiis et totum feudum Enisandi Musard et feudum Heruei filii Morin' et carrucatam terre de Sedberga et omnes terras et omnia tenementa patris sui Roaldi constab[ulari]i sicut ipse Roaldus ea melius et honorificius tempore meorum antecessorum tenuit scilicet tempore Stefani comitis aui mei et tempore Alani comitis patris mei et sicut carte regis Henrici atui mei et Stefani comitis aui mei et Alani comitis patris mei quas inde habent eis testantur. Quare volo et firmiter precipio ut hic Alanus et sui heredes habeant et teneant de me et de meis heredibus in feudo et hereditate omnes predictas tenuras et predicta tenementa bene et in pace et libere et quiete et honorifice in bosco in plano

<sup>1</sup> *B.M. Cat. of Seals*, no. 5759, where it is fully described.



[illegible]





in aquis in stagnis in piscaturis in uiuariis in pratis in pascuis in terra arabili et non arabili in burgo et extra burgum in uiis in semitis et extra in foro et extra forum in ecclesiis et in omnibus locis cum soco et sacco et tol et tem et infangantheof cum omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus predictis tenuris et tenementis pertinentibus. T[estibus]. Guill[elm]o abbate ecclesie sancti Petri de Fulgeris. Petro suo canonico. Ricardo celerario de Chircasteda. Eudone filio Cades. Radulfo de Fulgeris. Sequarto suo dap[ifer]o. Henrico de Chastaler. Leones. Guill[elm]o Angeuin. Briennio fratre com[itis]. Roberto de [Gu]ingam camerario. Eraldo clerico. Rollando dispensatore. Henrico Bertram. Roberto ostiario. Radulfo f[il]io<sup>1</sup> Meldredi. Homnisio abbate de Begar. Guill[elm]o abbate de sancto Albino. Kemaroco abbate de Bochiam. Apud Fulgerias].

*Seal: attached by four cords of red and yellow thread the central portion of a seal in red-brown wax, remainder repaired; equestrian, obverse and reverse.*<sup>2</sup>

For the date see note to no. 44. Hervey son of Morinus is mentioned as having held Barningham in count Stephen's charter to Roald, Alan's father (no. 9). For the descent of the lands of Enisand Musard to the constables of Richmond see Chapter V, §2.

This charter was the subject of a letter in the *Times Literary Supplement*, 12 Feb. 1925, where it was suggested that the genealogical descent as given might indicate count Stephen as being an illegitimate son of king Henry I; the descent is certainly given in a somewhat misleading way, but the evidence is conclusive that count Stephen was a younger brother of Alan Rufus and Alan Niger.<sup>3</sup> Actually earl Conan was a great-grandson of king Henry I through his mother, who was the daughter of Conan III, duke of Brittany, by Maud, an illegitimate daughter of Henry I.

Details relating to Brian, the earl's brother, are given in Chapter II.

#### 48. Confirmation by Conan IV to the abbey of Bégard [Britanny]. At Rennes. [1158]

Pd. in Morice, *Histoire de Bretagne, Preuves*, i, col. 634; A. du Paz, *Histoire Généalogique de Bretagne*, pt. i, 15; from the original then at Bégard.<sup>4</sup>

Charter of Conan, duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond, confirming to the monks of Bégard, where the body of his father count Alan lies, all the gifts of his said father shown by his charter.

'Testibus, Stephano Redonensi episcopo, Willermo abbate sancti Melanii, Radulpho archidiacono, Radulpho de Filgeris, Rolando de Dynan, Guydone de Valle, Hugone de Castello-Gironis, Waleran filio suo, Roberto de Vitreio, Esgaredo de Rugeio, Olliverio de Montfort, Alano constabulario, Johane filio Manguy, Rainaldo de Cornubia,

<sup>1</sup> A small tear in the parchment.

<sup>2</sup> The same seal as *B.M. Cat. of Seals*, no. 5759.

<sup>3</sup> See below in Chapter II.

<sup>4</sup> 'scellé d'un grand sceau rond de cire blanche, où il y a des deux côtés un Chevalier passant.' Du Paz omits some of the witnesses.

Salio, Gaufrido filio Bonifacii, Roberto de Guingamp, Alexandro fratre magistri Hannonis. Apud Redoniam.<sup>7</sup>

A later confirmation to the same house is printed at no. 74.

49. Grant by Conan IV to the abbey of St. George, Rennes. At Rennes. 22 Sept. 1158.

Pd. in Lobineau, *Histoire de Bretagne*, ii, col. 305; Morice, *Histoire de Bretagne, Preuves*, i, col. 631; from the archives of St. Georges at Rennes.

Charter of Conan, duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond, granting to the church of St. George at Rennes and to the abbess Adelaide a moiety of the toll (*consuetudinis*) of the ships navigating the Loire to hold as the abbess Adeline held it in the time of his ancestors.

'Presentibus, Radulfo Redon[ensi] archidiacono, Radulfo de Buc, Hamelino cancellario, Reginaldo de Cornubia, Alano de Coustibero,<sup>1</sup> Burdone Dampo<sup>2</sup>, Philippo de Campania, Pagano filio Johannis, Tehel de Lency, etc. Actum est Redonis viij. Kal. Octobris anno ab incarnatione Domini MCLVIII'.

This charter was issued a week before duke Conan met king Henry II at Avranches, after his seizure of the county of Nantes.<sup>3</sup>

50. Confirmation by Conan, duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond, to the burgesses of Richmond of the customs and liberties which they had in the time of count Stephen his grandfather and earl Alan his father. At Rennes. [1158-66]

Pd. in Gale, *Reg. Hon. de Richmond*, app. no. xix, from the original in the possession of the mayor and burgesses of Richmond in 1665; Clarkson, *Richmond*, app. no. xi.

Conanus dux Britannie comes Richemundie dapifero suo et camerario et omnibus ministris suis atque baronibus et omnibus hominibus suis Francis et Anglis salutem. Notum sit vobis omnibus me concessisse et hac mea carta confirmasse burgensibus de Richemund[ia] ut habeant easdem consuetudines et eas libertates quas habuerunt et tenuerunt tempore meorum antecessorum, [et] quas mei antecessores, scilicet comes Stephanus avus meus et comes Alanus pater meus et mei alii antecessores, eis concesserunt et cartis suis confirmaverunt. Quare volo firmiterque precipio ut ipsi eas consuetudines atque libertates habeant et teneant bene et in pace et honorifice et libere, in burgo et extra burgum, in foro et extra, in villa et extra, in bosco et plano, in viis et semitis, [et] in omnibus aliis consuetudinibus liberis et libertatibus. Et prohibeo ne aliquis super hec eis aliquod impedimentum vel aliquam injuriam inde fecerit, sed precor omnes meos homines et amicos ut eos ad hec manuteneant et protegant. Testibus, Radulfo archidiacono, Alano constabulario, Ricardo filio

<sup>1</sup> *Sic*; doubtless for *constabulario*, the *de* being inserted in error.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps a corruption for *Guidone dapifero*, who occurs in nos. 44 and

<sup>3</sup> See Chapter II.

Philippi, Willelmo de Cogneriis, Abraham sacerdote, Waltero filio Acharie, Alano de Mulatuna, Radulfo de Mideltuna, Rolando de Sennoc, Hermero filio Edivo, Philippo filio Aldredi, Rualdo filio Gamelli. Apud Redon[es].

An examination of the witnesses to this and the following two charters, issued in Brittany, especially the appearance of Ralph the chamberlain, suggests that they were issued later than the preceding six charters issued there in 1158. Ralph the chamberlain who witnessed nos. 51 and 52 and several subsequent charters was apparently Ralph son of Meldred or Ralph de Middleton who witnessed nos. 47 and 50 before he became chamberlain. Ralph son of Meldred de Middleton witnessed a later charter (no. 56) as chamberlain.<sup>1</sup> He was probably given the office between the issue of nos. 50 and 51. It is scarcely likely that in view of the surrender of the duchy to king Henry II in 1166 no. 51 is later than that year.

The first witness to this charter (no. 50) was not archdeacon of Richmond, but presumably Ralph, archdeacon of Rennes, who witnessed no. 49.

#### 51. Gift by Conan IV to Ralph de Fougères. At Rennes. [1158-66]

Pd. in Morice, *Histoire de Bretagne, Preuves*, i, col. 662; from the 'cartulaire du comté d' Alençon' (now lost).

Charter of Conan, duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond, giving to Ralph de Fougères 'Gahard et forestum meum' (bounds given) and making him grand forester of 'my other forest as his ancestors were in the times of my ancestors.'

'Testibus, Tesgare de Rugi, Guidone dapifero de Redon, Garan[tono]<sup>2</sup> de Vitreio, Guidone forestario, Guillelmo filio Pag[ani], Simone de Munburcher, Guillelmo fratre suo, Ric[ardo] de Malet,<sup>3</sup> Alano fratre suo, Rad[ulfo] camerario. Apud Redon[es].'

For Ralph de Fougères see note to no. 73. The modern form of Gahard is Galiard, arr. Rennes.

#### 52. Gift by Conan, duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond, to Reginald Boterel, his knight, in augmentation of his provision, of the vill of East Witton with the advowson of the church, and the mill; to hold for three-fourths of a knight's fee; saving the lands which he had previously given to the monks of Jervaulx. At Quimper. [1158-71]

Ancient Correspondence (P.R.O.), i, no. 27.

Conanus dux Britannie et comes Richem[undie] dapifero suo et camerario suo et omnibus baronibus suis et omnibus ministris suis et omnibus hominibus suis Francis et Anglis salutem. Notum sit vobis omnibus tam presentibus quam futuris me concessisse dedisse et hac

<sup>1</sup> He took his name from Middleton Tyas in the North Riding; some notes on his family are given in Chapter III.

<sup>2</sup> *Rectius*, Goran[tono].

<sup>3</sup> Doubtless an error for *Mulet[on]*: see the preceding charter and the note on Richard and Alan the twins at no. 30.



mea carta confirmasse Reginaldo Boterel meo milite in atentu<sup>1</sup> sue garison' villam totam de Est Witton' cum advocatione ecclesie et molendino illius ville et cum omnibus aliis suis pertinentiis; tenendam de me et heredibus meis sibi et heredibus suis in feodo et hereditate pro tribus partibus feodi unius militis in bosco et plano et forestis et aquis, in pratis et agris, in toftis et croftis et in omnibus pasturis et in omnibus locis eidem ville pertinentibus. Quare vobis firmiter precipio ut illam villam habeat et teneat ut supradictum est libere et quiete pro omni consuetudine, cum soc et sac et thol et them et infangenethef,<sup>2</sup> salvis Deo et beate Marie et monachis meis de Jerouallis<sup>3</sup> ibidem Deo servientibus omnibus terris, tenementis et possessionibus suis eisdem prius a me donatis et concessis inperpetuum, cum suis omnibus pertinentiis, per omnes divisas in cartis meis nominatas, alte et basse, subtus terram et supra terram, nichil ex omnibus mihi vel meis heredibus retinens vel predicto Reginaldo vel suis heredibus aliquid dans vel reservans infra terras, pasturas vel possessiones dictorum monachorum cum omnibus rebus suis et pertinentiis inperpetuum. Testibus hiis, Alano constabulario, Eudone alterius filio, Deriano viatore, Willelmo de Coyneriis, Henrico Bertram, Willelmo viatore, Willelmo Brohulle, Radulfo camerario, Galfrido filio Boniface. Apud [Kem]per Correntyn.

At the Domesday survey count Alan held 12 carucates in East Witton, which included 2 carucates in Ulshaw,<sup>4</sup> with berewicks and soke in several places. The gift of earl Conan to Jervaulx abbey of land in East Witton, c. 1156, is given at no. 29. Reginald Boterel held  $\frac{3}{4}$  knight's fee of new feoffment,<sup>5</sup> evidently the result of this charter. At Michaelmas 1183 Ranulf de Glanville paid 31*li*. 12s. for the issues of East Witton, the land of Reginald Boterel, and the chattels therein which had been sold, and 14s. for perquisites.<sup>6</sup> Reginald Boterel was one of duke Geoffrey's stewards in Brittany, being addressed as such by him in a charter in favour of the abbey of Marmoutier, of probable date 1182.<sup>7</sup> Without official designation he witnessed charters of duchess Constance, dated 1187, 1193, and 1194.<sup>8</sup> At Michaelmas 1192 Geoffrey son of Geoffrey son of Morwan owed 5 marks for a writ of right against Reginald Boterel in respect of 10 carucates of land in East Witton.<sup>9</sup> Reginald's heir was his son Peter. But East Witton was granted by the king in 1204 to Robert de Tateshale,<sup>10</sup> and later to Brito the arbalester, who died in or before 1227.<sup>11</sup> In Dec. 1227 the king took Peter Boterel into favour, so that he could come to England freely and depart when he wished and hold the land which had belonged to Brito the arbalester, his brother, of the honour of Richmond in East Witton.<sup>12</sup> Peter finally forfeited his English lands in or before 1241, being then a liege of the count of Brittany.<sup>13</sup> In an inquisition of the middle part of the thirteenth century it was found that an earl of Richmond had given to the ancestors of Peter Boterel the

<sup>1</sup> *Sic.*

<sup>3</sup> *Sic.*

<sup>5</sup> *Red Bk.*, p. 588.

<sup>7</sup> Morice, *Hist. de Bretagne, Preuves*, i, col. 689.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, cols. 713, 723, 710.

<sup>10</sup> *Rot. Claus.*, i, 8a.

<sup>12</sup> *Pat. Rolls*, 1225-32, p. 173.

<sup>13</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1232-47, p. 251.

<sup>2</sup> *infangenetset*, MS.

<sup>4</sup> *V.C.H. Yorks.*, ii, 237.

<sup>6</sup> *Pipe Roll 29 Hen. II*, p. 57.

<sup>9</sup> *Pipe Roll 4 Ric. I*, p. 221.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 181b.

vill of East Witton, worth 40*li.*, with the advowson of the church, worth 20*li.*; that Peter sold the advowson to Jervaulx abbey, when the honour of Richmond was in the king's hand, for a yearly rent of 20*li.*; and that this rent was received by Peter of Savoy after his coming.<sup>1</sup>

A family of the name of Boterel were tenants of the honour of Richmond in Nettlestead, Suffolk. In 1139 Geoffrey Boterel ordered his reeve of Nettlestead to give a mark of silver yearly to the monks of St. Melaine dwelling in Hatfield Regis [Hatfield Broad Oak priory], mentioning his wife Vigolent and his sons William and Peter;<sup>2</sup> and in the period 1153-60 Peter Boterel issued a notification to William, bishop of Norwich, Walchelin the archdeacon, and earl Conan, his lord, of his gift to the church of St. Melaine, Rennes, of Godwin the reeve of Nettlestead and his heirs and all his land, witnessed by Maud, Peter's wife.<sup>3</sup> Peter Boterel, probably the same man, witnessed several of earl Conan's charters; and as he had a son called Reginald (no. 30A) it seems likely that the feoffee of East Witton was a son of Peter son of Geoffrey. Geoffrey Boterel of Nettlestead must not be confused with count Geoffrey Boterel, elder brother of Alan, earl of Richmond. The name cannot be regarded as being peculiar to the family of the counts of Brittany.<sup>4</sup> The affiliation of Hamo Boterel who also witnessed some of earl Conan's charters, and who is described as *dapifer* in a charter issued at Rennes in 1158 (no. 44), has not been determined.

'Eudo alterius filius,' the second witness to the above charter, who also witnessed other charters (e.g. nos. 73 and 74) is a form of 'Eudo filius Eudonis.' Cf. 'Guido filius alterius' in no. 69; and 'Roaut Pot cum filio suo altero Roaut Pot' in no. 43.

53. Confirmation by Conan, duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond, of the gifts of lands and rents which Roger de Aske and his other barons and men had made to Marrick priory. At Richmond. [1159-71]

Pd. in *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, v. 102, from the original then (1838) in the possession of M. F. Tupper, esq.

Conanus dux Britannie et comes Richemundie dapifero suo, constabulario suo, camerario suo et omnibus balliis et omnibus hominibus suis Francis et Anglis salutem. Notum sit vobis omnibus me concessisse et hac mea carta confirmasse donationes terrarum et reddituum quas Rogerus de Asc ceterique barones mei et homines mei fecerunt Deo et ecclesie sancti Andree de Marrig et sanctimonialibus ibidem Deo servientibus juxta terminos ab eisdem baronibus et meis hominibus eis rationabiliter concessos et concessuros datos et daturis in bosco, in plano, in pascuis, in moris, in aquis, in viis, in semitis et in omnibus

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. Inq. Misc.*, i, no. 480; it is added that in East Witton Alan son of Brian was holding a carucate by charter. For the rent payable to Peter by Jervaulx in 1236 see *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1232-47, p. 185; and for fuller details of Peter's connection with the vill see *V.C.H., N.R.*, i, 284.

<sup>2</sup> B.M. Add. Ch. 28322, pd. in D. C. Douglas, *Social Structure of Medieval East Anglia*, p. 231.

<sup>3</sup> B. M. Add. Ch. 28331, pd. in *ibid.*, p. 232.

<sup>4</sup> This is contrary to Round's view in *Ancient Charters* (Pipe Roll Soc.), p. 55; and cf. note to no. 30 above.

aliis locis predictis terris pertinentibus. Prohibeo eciam ne quis hominum meorum eas vel homines suos perturbare vel inquietare presumat neque nomen suum propter aliorum debita nisi propter earum propria quisquam capiat. Precipio autem vos omnes barones meos et homines quatinus pro Dei amore eas omnesque suos et omnia sua manuteneatis. Si quis autem eis aut suis injuriam aliquam facere presumerit tunc precipio vos omnes ministros meos quatinus sine dilatione eis plenum rectum habere faciatis. T[estibus], Herveio filio Acharis, Alano constabulario, Waltero filio Achar[is], Nigello filio camerarii, Henrico filio Hervei, Conano de Asc, et Thoma fratre ejus, Radulfo camerario, et multis aliis. Apud Richmundiam.

*Seal: white wax; equestrian, obverse and reverse; much defaced.*

The attestation of Alan the constable to this and the following two charters, issued at Richmond, shows that their date is later than the autumn of 1158 when the earl was in Brittany. He was presumably in England in 1160, the year of his marriage to Margaret of Scotland. These three charters are perhaps not later than 1164, as there is no record of any subsequent visit of the earl to England.

For the foundation of Marrick priory by Roger de Aske see Chapter V, §1E. There is a record of a gift by earl Conan to the priory of the house of Lecelina de Barra and quittance to the nuns of all customs.<sup>1</sup>

54. Confirmation by Conan, duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond, to the abbey of Mont St. Michel of the land which his ancestors had given, namely Wath [nr. Ripon], with all its belongings. At Richmond. [1159-71]

Pd. in *Mon. Ang.*, vi, 990, from the register of charters of the priory of St. Michael's Mount, in the possession of William, earl of Salisbury, f. 37d.<sup>2</sup>

Conanus dux Britannie comes Richmundie dapifero suo et constabulario suo et omnibus baronibus suis et omnibus hominibus suis Francis et Anglis salutem. Notum sit vobis omnibus me concessisse in puram et perpetuam elemosinam, pro anima patris mei et animabus antecessorum meorum, et hac mea carta confirmasse Deo et ecclesie sancti Michaelis de Periculo Maris, fratribusque ibidem [Deo] servientibus, terram illam quam antecessores mei illis in puram et perpetuam elemosinam dederunt et concesserunt, scilicet Wath cum omnibus pertinentiis et appendiciis. Quare volo et precipio ut habeant et teneant bene et in pace, libere et quiete et honorifice, integre et plenarie, in ecclesia, in bosco et plano, in pratis et pascuis,<sup>3</sup> in aquis et molendinis, in terra arabili et non arabili, et in omnibus locis eidem terre

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. Ch. Rolls*, 1341-1417, p. 91.

<sup>2</sup> A text of this charter is printed in La Borderie, *Recueil*, no. 52, from the Chartulary of Mont St. Michel in the public library at Avranches (cf. no. 72 below); but it is inaccurate as a complete line of witnesses has been omitted. His text, however, suggests the following additional emendations: after *constabulario suo* add *et camerario*; before *hominibus* add *militibus suis et omnibus*.

<sup>3</sup> in *pascuis*, M.A.





Eo die dux Brue et Com Richem Dapio suo et Camario et oibz armigeris sibi acq: baronibz et oibz hoibz et amicis sibi francis et anglis  
 clericis et laicis toti anglie salutem. Hoc ita nobis oibz nos concessisse et reddidisse Torfmo filio Robti totu feudu hermi actum  
 sui scti feudu duoz militu. Scti Manafeld et oibz pincernis et plenariis sibi unq: ipse hueri et filia eius hueri Gubernat: cennit  
 illud feudu meli et honorati et p: mior: dñesset: scti et p: Com Alan: aug: et Com Stess: aut: m: et p: Reg: hem: Quolo et p: p: p:  
 ut ipse Torf et heredes sui habeat et teneat p: dictu feudu hereditario iure de me et de m: heribz bñ et i pace et libe et q: et honoratue  
 faciendo sicuti duoz militu i bosco et plano et p: et p: et p: et i uis et p: et i aq: et i m: et i burgo et i uilla et i p: et i era et i arabi  
 et i n: et i oibz locis et i loco et i loco et i cal: et i can: et i m: et i g: et i oibz lib: et i libis et i oibz s: et i aliis et i aliis ex m: baronibz  
 feudu suu meli et honorati de me teneat. Et Alan: Constab: Eudone: quicquid ei. Nullo fr: constab: et Eudone fr: ei. Et al:  
 do Camario. Alan: pincerna. Remaldo Botrel. herico Bm. Toma de ayultun. Acard: et Tumtal. Radulfo Camario. Osbro  
 filio Cimaldi. Iuone fr: ei. R: de amun. Vilano de Cimalandia. Ap: Richem.



pertinentibus. Testibus, Radulfo filio Ribaldi,<sup>1</sup> Alano conestabulario, Herveo filio Acarie, Torfino<sup>2</sup> filio Roberti, Wygano filio Cades, Roberto filio Radulfi, Ribaldo fratre suo, Warnero filio Guimari,<sup>3</sup> Radulfo camerario, Waltero filio Acarie, Willelmo de Coineriis.<sup>4</sup> Apud Richemundiam.

A later confirmation by earl Conan of Wath with the church is printed below (no. 72), where some notes are given.

55. Restoration by Conan, duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond, to Torfin son of Robert of the fee of two knights of Hermer his [?] great-grandfather, namely Manfield, to hold as fully as Hermer or Gutherith his daughter held it in the time of count Alan the black and count Stephen, Conan's grandfather, and in the time of king Henry. At Richmond. [1159-71]

PLATE XI.

Original charter, Harley Ch. 48 G. 43. *British Museum Facsimiles*, no. 33. Gale, *Reg. Hon. de Richmond*, app. no. xxii.

.Con[anus] dux Brit[annie] et comes Richem[undie] dapifero suo et camerario et omnibus ministris suis atque baronibus et omnibus hominibus et amicis suis Francis et Anglis clericis et laicis tocius Anglie sal[utem]. Notum sit uobis omnibus me concessisse et reddidisse Torfino filio Roberti totum feudum Hermeri attau sui scilicet feudum duorum militum. scilicet Manafeld cum omnibus pertinentiis tam planarie sicut unquam ipse Hermerius uel filia eiusdem Hermerii Gutherith tenuit illud feudum melius et honoratius tempore meorum antecessorum scilicet tempore comitis Alani nigri et comitis Steff[ani] aui mei. et tempore regis Henrici. Quare uolo et precipio vt ipse Torff[inus] et heredes sui habeant et teneant predictum feudum hereditario iure de me et de meis heredibus bene et in pace et libere et quiete et honorifice faciendo seruitium duorum militum. in bosco. in plano. in pratis. in pascuis. in uuis et semitis. in aquis et molendinis. in burgo et extra. in uilla et extra. in terra arabili et non arabili et in omnibus locis. cum soco et sacco et tol et tem. et infangentheof. et cum omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus sicut aliquis alius ex meis baronibus feudum suum melius et honoratius de me tenet. T[estibus]. Alano constab[ulario]. Eudone auunculo eius. Willelmo fratre constab[ulari]i. et Eudone fratre eius. Ernaldo camerario. Alano pincerna. Reinaldo Boterel. Henrico Bertram. Toma de Multun. Acaris de Tunstal. Radulfo camerario. Osberto filio Ernaldi. Ivone fratre eius. Ricardo de Canni. Vliano de Clualandia. Apud Richem[undiam].

*Fragment of an equestrian seal, obverse and reverse, of red wax, on a plaited red cord.*<sup>5</sup>

An account of Torfin son of Robert will be given with the charters relating to the Manfield fee in Chapter V, §1D. The present charter has

<sup>1</sup> Radulpho filio Rabaldi, M.A.

<sup>2</sup> Teyfino, M.A.

<sup>3</sup> Gunnari, M.A.

<sup>4</sup> Willelmo de Comeris, M.A.

<sup>5</sup> B.M. Cat. of Seals, no. 5757; being the same seal as no. 5759.

the interesting feature of two chamberlains among the witnesses; the second is Ralph de Middleton, mentioned above, but nothing further seems to be known of Ernald. Although this is an original charter it is not impossible that *camerario* is an error for *capellano*; an Ernald the chaplain witnesses the next charter; moreover reference is made to only one chamberlain in the address in the first clause.

56. Gift by Conan, duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond, to Fountains abbey of land in Moulton [par. Middleton Tyas, N.R. Yorks.], by bounds made by Wigan son of Cades his sheriff and others, to hold for 10s. yearly and forinsec service for a carucate of land reckoned for a sixteenth part of a knight's fee; and confirmation of all the abbey lands in Moulton; for a payment of 50 marks of silver. [1159-71]

Fountains Chartulary, Cotton MS. Tiberius C. xii, f. 315d (old f. 312d). Abst. in *Fountains Chartulary*, ed. Lancaster, p. 195.

Eboracensi archiepiscopo et universis sancte matris ecclesie filiis presentibus et futuris Conanus dux Britannie et comes Richem[undie] salutem. Notum sit vobis me dedisse Deo et sancte Marie [de Fontibus] et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus quandam partem terre in territorio de Multuna his divisis, scilicet de Holebec per chiminum quod vadit de Richem[undia] versus Smihetun usque ad culturas de Cutun et item de chimino per capita culturarum usque ad veterem fossatam et per fossatam ita usque ad parvam hogam et de [hoga]<sup>1</sup> usque Hormespit et de Hormespit sicut Holebec vadit sursum versus prefatum chiminum, sicut Wigan filius Cade meus viceco[m]es<sup>1</sup> et alii mei probi homines perambulaverunt et fratres de Fontibus mea . . . . .<sup>2</sup> saiserunt. Hanc terram dono monachis in perpetuam elemosinam [quietam]<sup>1</sup> de me et de meis heredibus in perpetuum pro x. solidis per annum [pro omni]<sup>1</sup> servicio quod ad terram pertinet preter forinsecum servicium regis, quod ipsi facient sicut ego facio pro una carrucata de meo dominio in [Multuna]<sup>1</sup> ubi sunt xvi. carrucate et ista pro sextadecima reputabitur. Et ego et heredes mei terram istam monachis guarentabimus in perpetuum. Et sciendum quod ego confirmo monachis hac carta terram istam et omnes terras cultas quas tenuerunt in territorio de Multuna die qua dedi eis terram istam, et prata que sunt infra terras istas et pasturas tenebunt sicut in alia mea carta continetur. Et ut heredes mei hoc firmiter teneant sciendum quod recepi a monachis L. marcas argenti pro ista confirmatione facienda et donatione mea guarentizanda. Testes, Radulfus filius Ribaldi, Wigan filius Cade, Hervi filius Acariz, Hernaldus capellanus, David lard[enarius], Rogerus constabularius, Rogerus de Hasc, Thomas filius ejus, Meldredus de Mideltona, Radulfus filius ejus camerarius, Lefwine filius Copse, Gilomichael, Fulco de Gilling, et alii plures.

The name of Roger the constable as a witness raises a point of difficulty. The charter was evidently issued in England, and is later than the earl's

<sup>1</sup> Conjectural, where the leaf is torn.

<sup>2</sup> A word beginning with *ins* or *ius*.

previous charter of 1158 to Fountains (no. 45), which is expressly mentioned. The names of several of the witnesses, compared with those in the preceding three charters, suggest that it belongs to the same period; and it was probably earlier than Michaelmas 1169 when Roger de Aske had apparently been succeeded by his son Conan.<sup>1</sup> But Alan the constable, who witnessed the three preceding charters, was still holding his office in the period 1167-71, being then present with the earl in Brittany (no. 75). It is true that he lost the constableness at some date not precisely known; but with the possible exception of Ranulf de Glanville there is no record of any constable except Alan before the death of earl Conan in 1171, and no other record except the present charter of any constable named Roger whose period of office was certainly before that date.<sup>2</sup> It must also be borne in mind that there is no evidence of the earl being in England after 1164, which is possibly, therefore, an even earlier date for this charter. On these grounds it is suggested, not without natural hesitation, that *Rogerus* the constable is a slip for *Alanus* on the part of the Fountains scribe, who may have confused his name with that of the next witness.

The modern name of Holebec, mentioned in the charter, is Howl Beck, which runs south and crosses the road from Richmond to Great Smeaton via Moulton at a point quite close to Cowton Grange.

**56A.** Gift by Conan, duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond, to Kirkstead abbey of a quarry in his demesne land in the territory of Washingborough [co. Lincoln]. [1159-71]

Kirkstead Chartulary, Cotton MS. Vespasian E. xviii, f. 43.<sup>3</sup>

Conanus dux Britannie [et] comes de Richemund[ia] omnibus ministris suis Britannie et Anglie salutem. Sciatis pro certo quod dedi amicis meis karissimis monachis de Kirkestede quarreram sufficientem ad usus proprios capiendam super dominium meum in territorio de Wasunb[?]urc, et inde feci eis hoc meum breve in testimonium; audientibus et videntibus, Alano constabulario, Willelmo de la Mara, Alano de Mumb[i], Roberto de Raieton, et multis aliis.

This gift was confirmed by Warin son of Gerold, the king's chamberlain, by a charter whose witnesses suggest that he was the later chamberlain of that name, *temp.* John, and not the earlier one who was living in the first few years of the reign of Henry II.<sup>4</sup>

**57.** Notification by countess Bertha to William, bishop of Norwich, and the men of the soke of Costessey of her gift to Geoffrey the clerk, son of William de Estunia, in frankalmoin, of the church of Honingham [Norfolk]; and all the land of Thurstan son of Sifed which he had held in Easton, Honingham and [Honingham] Thorpe, as his father had granted it to him, and as he had deraigned it in the court of duke Conan her son at Costessey

<sup>1</sup> *Pipe Roll 15 Hen. II.*, p. 38.

<sup>2</sup> Notes on the holders of the constableness in the twelfth century will be given in detail in Chapter VI.

<sup>3</sup> See note to no. 30A.

<sup>4</sup> *Mon. Ang.*, v, 422, from the Kirkstead Chartulary, f. 54d.



in the presence of the duke's barons, to hold in free socage as William his predecessor had held it.

[1159-67]

PLATE XII.

Original charter in the archives of the Corporation of Norwich.<sup>1</sup>

Berta. comitissa. Willelmo. Dei gracia Norycensi episcopo et omnibus ministris suis et hominibus et amicis de Anglia clericis et laicis Francis et Angl[ic]is et maxime illis de soca de Costeseia salutem. Notum sit uobis omnibus tam futuris quam presentibus me dedisse et concessisse ecclesiam de Hunigham cum uniuersis pertinenciis. Galfrido clerico filio Willelmi de Estunia in puram et perpetuam elemosinam; et preter hanc totam terram Turstani filii Sifled quam tenuit in Estunia. et Hunigham. et in Torp.<sup>2</sup> sicut pater suus illam ei concessit. et sicut illam in curiam Conani ducis filii mei apud Costeseiam coram baronibus suis disratiocinauit. Quare uolo et precipio ut ipse et heredes sui illam predictam terram Turstani feudo et hereditate de me et de heredibus meis habeant et possideant. bene et in pace honorifice libere et quiete in libero socagio et liberis consuetudinibus sicut predecessor suus Willelmus eam melius et liberius tenuit; scilicet in bosco et plano in agro in terra arabili et inarabili in pratis in aquis in turbariis et pascuis et in omnibus locis; .T[estibus]. Warnero filio Guiomari. Alano constabulario. Reginaldo Boterel. Toma. et Alano. et Ricardo. de Mulet [ona]. Heudone de Mumbia. Gileberto de Lea Galfrido Bonifac.<sup>3</sup> Rodlando de S. . . . . Hernaldo clerico. Triallo clerico de Alrai. Rodberto de [?] But Durando et Tardif. armig[er]is].

*Tongue for seal, missing.*

Countess Bertha was widow of earl Alan. As her second husband Eudo, vicomte de Porhoët, had married again before Aug. 1167,<sup>3</sup> that year gives the latest limit of date for this charter; the earlier limit is due to the presence of Alan the constable as a witness, for he was in Brittany in Sept. 1158 (no. 49) and it seems likely that the charter was issued in England.

Bertha's interest in Costessey was presumably one of dower; for this manor see note to no. 10. During her tenure she charged the manor with a debt to Jurnetus the Jew of Norwich.<sup>4</sup>

## 58. Gift by Conan IV to Henry son of Hervey. At Guingamp. [1160-66]

*Facsimiles of Early Charters*, edited by F. M. Stenton (*Northamptonshire Record Society*, vol. iv), no. 5; pd. with facsimile from the original at Burghley.

Charter of Conan, duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond, addressed to all his ministers, barons, and men of Brittany, especially to his men of Kemenet [Guémené, Morbihan], giving to Henry son of

<sup>1</sup> From a photograph kindly lent by Professor Stenton; the text and illustration are included in this volume by permission of the Corporation. The definite use of semi-colons in this charter is clear; cf. no. 9 above.

<sup>2</sup> The fourth letter looks more like 't' than 'i'; but the latter is doubtless intended; the witness was Geoffrey son of Boniface who witnessed other charters (e.g., nos. 30 and 68), and, as Geoffrey Boniface, no. 33.

<sup>3</sup> See Chapter II.

<sup>4</sup> *Pipe Roll 21 Hen. II*, p. 3.

[illegible]



Hervey two parts of Merther [Le Merzer, Morbihan] and all 'Cnesent,' to hold of him and his heirs for a quarter of a knight's service in the host and escort service (*in exercitu et cheualche*).

'T[estibus] Willelmo Trecorensi episcopo. M[argareta]. comitissa. Alano de Roan. Galfrido filio Runelen dapifero. Richardo. et Alano gymellis. Henrico Bertram. Radulfo. camerario. Roberto cancellario. Galfrido filio Urferii. Galfrido Loisi<sup>1</sup> filio Roaldo filio Donwalon. Milono filio Albi. Galfrido filio Joz. Apt Wincampum'.

*Seal: equestrian, obverse and reverse; damaged.*<sup>2</sup>

This charter and several of the following charters, in which Margaret of Scotland, Conan's wife, is mentioned cannot be earlier than 1160 when the marriage took place. This charter is evidently not later than 1166 when Conan surrendered the duchy to king Henry II, as after that event he is not likely to have granted land in Guémené, which is far removed from Guingamp which he retained, particularly to be held by knight service in the host. The word *cheualche* is examined by Professor Stenton in his *First Century of English Feudalism*, p. 175, where he points out that it denoted, not military service, but the duty of escorting an immediate lord or the king from place to place, and is equivalent to the word *equitatio* of English documents.

Henry son of Hervey was almost certainly lord of Ravensworth and ancestor of the family of FitzHugh; see Chapter V, §46. He may not, however, have succeeded his father at the date of this charter; for Hervey son of Acaris was living in 1164 (no. 72). For another example of a gift by duke Conan to his English tenants of land in Brittany see note to no. 30.

## 59. Gift by Conan IV to the abbey of St. Sulpice-de-la-Forêt [near Rennes]. At Guingamp. [1160-66]

Pd. in Morice, *Histoire de Bretagne, Preuves*, i, col. 663, from the archives of St. Sulpice.

Charter of Conan, duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond, addressed to the bishops, abbots, barons, knights, and all his men of Brittany, giving to his sister Ennoguent and the nuns of St. Sulpice-de-la-Forêt the land of 'Merle.'

'Hujus donationis et libertatis testes sunt, Marguarita comitissa, Galterius filius Acarie, Henricus filius Hervei, Ricardus Gebrellus<sup>3</sup> et Alanus frater ejus, Radulphus camerarius, Robertus cancellarius, Martinus capellanus, Abraham capellanus. Apud Guengamp.'

The form of address suggests that Conan was still *de facto* ruler of the duchy.

## 60. Confirmation by Conan IV to the abbey of Savigny.

[c. 1160-66]

Pd. in A. de la Borderie, *Recueil*, no. 54, from the original in the Archives Nationales, L.1146. 15.

<sup>1</sup> Not *Boisi* apparently, which the writing suggests. Cf. this witness in nos. 61, 63, and 64.

<sup>2</sup> Almost certainly the same seal as *B.M. Cat. of Seals*, no. 5759.

<sup>3</sup> *Sic*, for *gemellus*.



Notification by Conan, duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond, to the bishop of Rennes and the clergy and all the barons and lieges (*fidelibus*) of all his land of Brittany of his confirmation to the monks of Savigny of Louvigné [canton Rennes].

'Testibus, Radulfo de Filgeriis, Guillelmo Andeg[avino], Juhello canonico, Roberto de Guingamp, Abraam capellano.'

The terms of this charter indicate that it was issued before the surrender of the duchy. The earlier limit of date is suggested by the fact that Abraham the chaplain, who witnessed no. 59 and subsequent charters, begins to occur as a witness about this period. It may be earlier than nos. 58 and 59 as Robert de Guingamp—the Robert *cancellarius*—is not so described.

**61. Gift by Margaret, duchess of Brittany and countess of Richmond, to the abbey of Holy Cross, Guingamp. At Guingamp.**

[1160-67]

Pd. in Morice, *Histoire de Bretagne, Preuves*, i, col. 636, from a copy dated 12 March 1455 at the château at Nantes.

Charter of Margaret, duchess of Brittany and countess of Richmond, giving for the salvation of the soul of Conan her lord 'dimidium partem molendinorum meorum juxta rupem fortem existentium et eorum que sunt subtus villam post' to the church of the Holy Cross beside Guingamp and the canons there.

'Testibus, Willelmo filio Hamonis, Alano de Rohan, Roberto cancellario, Abraham capellano comitis, Martino capellano, Richardo et Alano gemello, Henrico filio Hervei, Henrico Bertran, Gaufrido filio Loes, Gaufrido filio Urfer, Gaufrido filio Gicael, Lamberto filio Con-  
toor, Asketil Gestino. Apud Wingamp.'

The death on 2 Aug. 1167 of Bernard, bishop of Quimper, who witnessed the next charter confirming the gift of the duchess, fixes the later limit of date. With regard to the mills mentioned in this and the following two charters no places named either Rochefort or Post have been identified in the neighbourhood of Guingamp. The actual situation of Guingamp strongly suggests that the mills 'juxta rupem fortem' were on the river below the steep slope from the highest part of the town, and those 'subtus villam post' on the river towards the abbey of Holy Cross which lies about a mile downstream; mills still exist on this reach.

**62. Confirmation [of the preceding charter] by Conan IV to the abbey of Holy Cross, Guingamp. At Guingamp. [1160-67]**

Pd. in Morice, *Histoire de Bretagne, Preuves*, i, col. 661, from the archives of the abbey of Ste. Croix de Guingamp; A. du Paz, *Histoire Généalogique de Bretagne*, pt. i, 16, from the same.

Charter of Conan, duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond, confirming to the church of the Holy Cross of Guingamp the gift which the countess Margaret his spouse made, namely 'mediam partem molendinorum suorum juxta rupem fortem manentium et eorum que sunt subter villam post.' The aforesaid canons are to hold them as freely



Con Duce Brit. & Com Rich. Omibz hoibz suis & Amicis Elieis & laicis  
 Britannie Anglie. & Omibz Scc Eccle filijs. salte. Omibz vobis notu  
 fit qd in cetera bona que ad honore dei & salute anime mee & omnium  
 antecessoru meoru feci Eccle beate Marie de Keykestede & Monachis ibide do  
 servientibz in Territorio & Villa de Garunda scdm qd testantur illi capteme  
 quas habent concedo etia eis in ead Villa & ex. corie dimidia capucata & ex  
 qua in manu mea pecunieru eo rege quo dedam eis in elemosina duas capucatas  
 & ex & dom cu eccia eiusd Ville. hanc itaqz dimidia capucata & ex concedo eis in  
 elemosina & do cu omibz ei adiacentibz infra Villa & ex. lib. & quicq. ab  
 omni exeno servitio & consuetudine. & omni exactione p. quod dabunt in & ho  
 ribz meis annuatim. xx. s. ad festu Sci Botulphi pilla dim capucata & ex  
 ancum & ei p. annuatim. E. Willelmo Exetoren. Ep. Margareta Comitissa.  
 Gaufr. Vapo. Abbas Capet. Robert de Gungang. Canonic. Gaufr. fit  
 Bonefaciu. Gaufr. fit loch. Ric. & Alano gemellis. Willelmo viario. Willelmo  
 de Monbocher. Alano huffo. Alano de Mora. Rad. Camaz. Gillebro  
 del kar. Rad fit Robt de hollandia. Conano fit Johis filii wadengi. Rad  
 fit Radulfi. Alano Dulci. Willelmo Gungang.

etc. as in the time of count Stephen, the duke's grandfather and of the countess Hadvise his grandmother.

'Testes de donacione molendinorum, Guillelmus Trecorensis episcopus, Alanus de Rohan, Constantia soror comitis, Robertus cancellarius, Abraham capellanus; testes de libertate possessionum, Bernardus Corisopitensis episcopus, David abbas de Relec, Eudo abbas de Coetmaloen, Simon presbyter de Coatnouët. Datum apud Guingampum.'

For Alan de Rohan and his wife Constance see Chapter II.

**63. Confirmation by Conan IV to the abbey of St. Saviour, Guingamp. At Guingamp. [1160-67]**

Pd. in J. Geslin de Bourgogne and A. de Barthélemy, *Anciens Evêchés de Bretagne*, vi, pp. 125-6, from a vidimus' of 1296 in the archives of Ille-et-Vilaine.

Charter of Conan, duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond, confirming to the church of St. Saviour of Guingamp and the monks there the gifts of the countess Margaret his spouse, 'scilicet quartam partem molendinorum suorum juxta rupem fortem manentium et subter villam post'; they are to possess it as freely etc. as the aforesaid countess held.

'Test[ibus], Willelmo Trecorensi episcopo, Roberto capellano,<sup>1</sup> Martino capellano, Hienrico Biertin,<sup>2</sup> Hienrico filio Herveii, Richardo et Alano gymellis, G[aufrido] Lorsi<sup>3</sup> filio, G[aufrido] Iecaelou<sup>4</sup> filio, Lamberto filio Concoor.<sup>5</sup> Apud Wincampum.'

**64. Gift by Conan, duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond, to Kirkstead abbey of half a carucate of land in Gayton [le Wold, Lincs.], in addition to his previous gifts of the church and 2½ carucates there; at a yearly rent of 20s. At Guingamp. [1160-68]**  
PLATE XIII.

Original charter, Harley Ch. 48 G. 42.<sup>6</sup> Pd. in Gale, *Reg. Hon. de Richmond*, app. no. xxiv.

Con[anus] dux Brit[annie]. et comes Rich[emundie]. omnibus hominibus suis et amicis clericis et laicis Britannie et Anglie. et omnibus sancte ecclesie filiis. salutem. Omnibus vobis notum sit quod inter cetera bona que ad honorem Dei et pro salute anime mee et omnium antecessorum meorum feci ecclesie beate Marie de Kerkestede et monachis ibidem Deo seruientibus in territorio et villa de Gaituna secundum quod testantur illis carte mee quas habent. concedo etiam<sup>7</sup> eis in eadem villa et territorio dimidiam carucatam terre quam in manu mea retinueram eo tempore quo dederam eis in elemosinam duas

<sup>1</sup> Probably an error for *cancellario*, as in no. 61.

<sup>2</sup> *Sic*, for *Bertram*.

<sup>3</sup> *Sic*, for *Loisi*.

<sup>4</sup> The same as Geoffrey son of Gicael in no. 61.

<sup>5</sup> *Concoor* in no. 61.

<sup>6</sup> There is a copy with the first four witnesses only in the Kirkstead Chartulary (Cotton MS. Vesp. E. xviii, f. 80).

<sup>7</sup> Not *ecclesiam* as in Gale.



carucatas terre et dimidiam cum ecclesia eiusdem ville. Hanc itaque dimidiam carucatam terre concedo eis in elemosinam et do cum omnibus ei adiacentiis infra villam et extra. libere. et quiete. ab omni terreno seruitio et consuetudine. et omni exactione preter quod dabunt mihi et heredibus meis annuatim. xx. solidos ad festum sancti Botulphi pro illa dimidia<sup>1</sup> carucata terre tantummodo et eius pertinentiis. T[estibus]. Will[elm]o Trecorensi episcopo. Margareta comitissa. Gaufrido dapifero. Abraam capellano. Roberto de Guingamp. cancell[ario]. Gaufrido filio Bonefacii. Gaufrido filio Loesi. Ric[ardo] et Alano gemellis. Will[elm]o Viario. Will[elm]o de Monbocher. Alano Ruffo. Alano de Mota. Rad[ulfo] camerario. Gilleberto del Lai. Rad[ulfo] filio St[eph]h[an]i<sup>2</sup> de Hoilanda. Conano filio Johannis filii Maengi. Ric[ardo] filio Radulfi. Alano Dulci. Apud Guingamp.

*Seal missing.*

Charters relating to the land in Gayton are given above at nos. 28, 31 and 46. By the present charter earl Conan added another half carucate. His combined benefactions were confirmed by king Henry II at Guingamp, probably in 1168;<sup>3</sup> the place of issue and the fact that the earl's charter is precisely confirmed by the king's, suggest that they may have been issued on the same occasion; but the witnesses differ entirely, and the earl's charter may have been issued sometime earlier. For the confirmation of Geoffrey, earl of Richmond, see no. 80.

65. Gift by Conan, duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond, to Wimar son of Warner of all his demesne of Wicken [co. Cambridge], for the service of one knight. At Guingamp. [1160-71]

MS. Dodsworth vii, f. 12, from the original formerly in St. Mary's Tower, York.

Con[anus] dux Brit[annie] et comes Richem[undie] dapifero suo et constabulario suo et kamerario suo et omnibus ministris suis et omnibus baronibus suis et omnibus hominibus suis Francis et Anglis salutem. Notum sit vobis omnibus me dedisse et concessisse et hac carta mea confirmasse Guiemaro filio Guarneri totum demenium meum de Wicres, cum omnibus pertinentiis, hereditarie, pro servitio suo; et hoc concedo predicto Wiemaro et heredibus suis, ad tenendum de me et heredibus meis in feudo et hereditate, pro servitio unius militis. Quare volo et firmiter precipio ut ipse et heredes sui habeant et teneant Wicram predictam, cum omnibus pertinentiis in omnibus locis et in omnibus partibus, bene<sup>4</sup> et in pace, libere et quiete et honorifice, in bosco et in plano, in campis, in pascuis, in viis, in semitis, in pratis, in pasturis, in aquis, in stagnis, in molendinis, in maricis,<sup>5</sup> in picinis,<sup>6</sup> et in omnibus locis terre predicte pertinentibus, cum socco et sacca, et tol et tem et infongenthef, et cum omnibus libertatibus et liberis con-

<sup>1</sup> Omitted by Gale.

<sup>2</sup> Not *Johannis* as in Gale.

<sup>3</sup> Harley Ch. 43 C. 25; pd. in F. M. Stenton, *Danelaw Charters*, no. 163, and by Delisle and Berger, *Recueil des Actes de Henri II*, no. 274, where reasons are given for the above date.

<sup>4</sup> *in bene*, MS.

<sup>5</sup> For *mariscis*.

<sup>6</sup> For *piscinis*.

suetudinibus. Hiis testibus, comitissa Margareta, Alano constabulario, Richardo et Halano gimell[is], Henrico filio Hervei, Henrico Bertram, Conano filio Johannis, Adam Tirel, Alano de Bassingborna, Gaufrido del Plessen', Roberto filio Hervei, Gaufrido de Laceles. Apud Vingacop.

For Wimar son of Warner see the account of the descendants of Wimar the steward, the Domesday tenant of count Alan, in Chapter V, §1. Wimar son of Warner was his grandson. Wimar the steward had an interest in Wicken; he gave the tithe of his demesne there to St. Mary's, York.<sup>1</sup> But the lords of the honour had retained an interest there in demesne;<sup>2</sup> count Stephen included his tithe of Wicken in his charter to St. Mary's (no. 8). It was presumably this interest which was the subject of the present charter of earl Conan.

66. Confirmation by Conan, duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond, of all the gifts which Robert his chamberlain had made to Denny priory [co. Cambridge], in accordance with the latter's request. [1160-71]

Ely Chartulary, Cotton MS. Titus A. i, f. 52 (old f. 50). Pd. in *Mon. Ang.*, vi, 1552.

Conanus dux Britannie comes Richem[undie] omnibus tam presentibus quam futuris sancte ecclesie filiis et omnibus bailliiis<sup>3</sup> suis necnon et omnibus amicis suis Francis et Anglicis salutem. Notum sit vobis omnibus me concessisse et hac carta mea confirmasse pro salute anime mee et animarum antecessorum meorum omnes donationes quas Robertus camerarius meus caritative dedi[t]<sup>4</sup> ecclesie sancti Jacobi et sancti Leonardi de insula que vocatur Deneia et monachis Eliensibus ibidem Deo servientibus, in puram et perpetuam elemosinam.<sup>5</sup> Quare volo et precipio ut predicti monachi bene<sup>6</sup> et in pace et integre illas donationes habeant et possideant, sicut carta jam dicti Roberti testatur eis, quia idem predictus Rodbertus inde me viva voce requisivit et ego ei concessi. T[estes], Margar[eta] comitissa, Alanus conestabularius, Radulfus camerarius, Robertus frater comitis, Brianus et Reginaldus fratres comitis, Henricus frater<sup>7</sup> Hervei, Walterus filius Achari, Nigellus filius camerarii, Henricus Bertram, duobus<sup>8</sup> gemell[is], Nicholaus de Multune, Wimer filius Warnerii, magister Drui, Alanus de Basseb[urne], Henricus de camera, Johannes de camera, Blanchard, Bartholomeus monachus, Gord[anus] pincardus, et aliis quam pluribus.

For Robert the chamberlain and his son Nigel see Chapter V, §4. At the date of this charter the office was held by Ralph [de Middleton], a member of a different family; see note to no. 50.

<sup>1</sup> His charter including this gift will be printed in Chapter V, §1.

<sup>2</sup> Count Alan held Wicken, a manor of 5 hides, in demesne in 1086.

<sup>3</sup> *ballivis*, M.A. <sup>4</sup> The word is omitted in M.A.

<sup>5</sup> These five words omitted in M.A. <sup>6</sup> *in bene*, MS.

<sup>7</sup> Probably in error for *filius*; Henry son of Hervey frequently occurs in other charters. <sup>8</sup> *duabus*, MS.

67. Gift by Conan, duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond, to Jervaulx abbey which he had founded, of pasture on the north of the river Ure, estovers and pasture on the south side, and pasture in his new forest near Richmond; confirmation of any future gifts of his barons and men; and grant of his body for burial wherever he should die in England. [1160-71]

MS. Dodsworth lxiii, f. 52d, from the Byland Chartulary (portion now missing). Pd. in *Mon. Ang.*, v, 572.

Conanus dux Brittanie et comes Richmundie omnibus hominibus suis Francis et Anglis salutem. Quia pater meus Alanus dux<sup>1</sup> Britannie et comes Richmundie dedit et concessit mon[achis] de Sauign[eio] communionem pasturarum suarum per totam forestam de Wandesleydale et prata falcanda, quantum eis opus fuerit, et materiem ubicunque voluerint in predicta foresta ad domos suas et necessaria omnia sua facienda sine impedimento vel disturbacione. Iccirco in hac vita degens et saluti anime mee volens providere, Deo et beate Marie et abbacie de Joreualle Cisterciensis ordinis, quam fundavi in honore Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et monachis meis ibi Deo servantibus et pro me orantibus, dedi et concessi pro me et meis heredibus in perpetuum totam partem et pasturam del north del Jor seperalem, alte et basse, subtus terram et supra terram, nihil mihi vel heredibus meis ibidem retinens ex omnibus rebus nisi feras et custodiam<sup>2</sup> foreste; ita quod ibidem comodum suum faciant in omnibus et per omnia secundum quod voluerint. Preterea accipiant<sup>3</sup> omnia estoveria sua et necessaria sua et ad omnia loca sua que habent vel adquirere poterunt, sine alicujus contradictione, impedimento vel disturbacione, del south de Jor, alte et basse, subtus terram et supra terram, cum tota pastura ad omnimoda genera animalium que habent vel in futurum adquirere poterunt, nihil mihi vel heredibus meis ibi plus retinens nisi feras et forestariam. Dedi eciam et concessi predictis monachis meis in perpetuum pasturam per totam novam forestam meam juxta Richmond ad omnia averia sua que habere poterunt, sine contradictione mei vel heredum meorum. Et precipio quod habeant mastivos ad lupos coercentes de pasturis suis. Volo insuper et concedo pro me et heredibus meis in perpetuum, quod predicti monachi libere et sine contradictione intrent ubicunque in feodum meum ad terras recipiendas et possessiones adquirendas et emendendas. Et si quis baronum vel hominum meorum eisdem monachis terras, possessiones vel aliquid aliud pro amore Dei dare voluerint, ego illas omnes eorum donaciones concedo libenter et confirmo in perpetuum elemosinam habendas et optinendas salvo servicio meo. Ita tamen salvo quod non occasionentur nec pro defectu alicujus servicii vel alicujus precepti averia sua capiantur vel distringantur seu molescentur, sed sint bene et in pace, pro me orantes assidue. Preterea concedo corpus meum predictae abbacie ad sepulturam ubicunque obiero in Anglia. Hec autem omnia supradicta cum suis omnibus pertinentiis et asiamentis ego et heredes mei warantizabimus et defendemus prefatis monachis contra omnes homines in perpetuum. Testibus, comitissa Margar[eta], Alano constabulario.

<sup>1</sup> *Sic*; but Alan was never duke of Brittany, and this is probably a scribal error.

<sup>2</sup> *custodia*, MS.

<sup>3</sup> *accipiat*, MS.



For a previous charter of the earl to Jervaulx see no. 29. His statement that he had founded the abbey was doubtless due to the fact that he had arranged for the removal of the house to the new site in East Witton in 1156. For other gifts which he made to the abbey see the confirmation charters issued by king Henry III in *Mon. Ang.*, v, 576, where there is also a record of a grant of rights by duchess Constance, Conan's daughter.<sup>1</sup>

**68. Gift and confirmation by Conan IV to the abbey of Savigny.**  
At Guingamp. [12 March 1161-2 or 1162-3]

Pd. in Lobineau, *Histoire de Bretagne*, ii, col. 306; Morice, *Histoire de Bretagne, Preuves*, i, col. 644; from the archives of the abbey of Savigny.

Charter of Conan, duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond, granting (*concessisse*) to the monks of Savigny a site for a grange at Lepas, and giving (*do*) rights of pannage etc. in all his forests as the charter of his grandfather count Conan witnesseth.

'Hec omnia do et concedo libera eis et quieta ab hostico et tallia et corvea. Testibus, Berta comitissa, Guarnerio filio Guiemari, Herveo filio Acharie, Galtero fratre suo, Reginaldo de Cornubia, Eudone de Mumbia, Ernaldo clerico, Gaufrido clerico, Thoma Multana,<sup>2</sup> Bencinaro, Galfrido filio Bonifacii, Gisleberto de Lacu, Guillelmo de Coigneris. Apud Guingampum.'

Dom Claude Auvry in the *Histoire de la Congrégation de Savigny* (ed. Soc. Hist. Norm., iii, 132) cites this charter from the chartulary and states that it was issued on 12 March 1162. As prior of Savigny he had access to original documents; and although he gives no evidence there is no reason to doubt so precise a statement. It is uncertain, however, whether he was referring to the year under the new or old style.

**69. Confirmation by Conan IV to the abbey of Holy Cross, Quimperlé. At Quimper. 15 Aug. 1162.**

Pd. in *Histoire de l'Abbaye de Sainte-Croix de Quimperlé*, by dom Placide Le Duc (Quimperlé, 1831), p. 600, from a 17th-century copy existing at the château at Nantes in the 18th century.

'Conanus dux Britannie atque comes Richemundie, Alani filius' confirms to the abbey of Ste. Croix at Quimperlé the donations of his ancestors, 'Alano videlicet Kainart qui primo prefatam abbatiam fundavit, Hoelo filio ejus, Alano filius (*sic*) Hoeli, Conano filio Alani.'

Witnesses, 'Bernardus Corisopitensis episcopus; Gaufridus archidiaconus; Priamus, Guillelmus, Jacobus, Rivallonus, Gaufridus, canonicus; Numalonus [Donuualonus]<sup>3</sup> abbas, in cujus manu hoc donum concessum est, Alcomanus camerarius, Rivallonus capellanus, Conanus monachus; Evenus magister hospitalis Niuuon; de laicis autem Guinguen dictus abbas sancti Tudi, Gormaelonus filius Judicael, Godianus

<sup>1</sup> See also *Bk. of Fees*, p. 174 for a gift made by earl Conan of land in Lincolnshire.

<sup>2</sup> *Sic*, probably *de Multona*.

<sup>3</sup> Donuualonus was in fact the abbot's name, and this is apparently an editorial emendation.



frater ejus, Desarvœ et Harscotus filius ejus, Rocus filius Guidonis, Gingant filius Dunvallon, Kanevetus filius Gruguen, Guido filius alterius,<sup>1</sup> Rivallonus, Mergius, Gaufridus, R. Ludovici, Roaldus filius Dumvallon, Joscius de Dinan, Radulphus de Charone, et ceteri quamplures. Hec autem acta sunt apud Kemper-Corentin, die assumptionis beate Marie Virginis, anno ab incarnatione Domini millesimo centesimo sexagesimo secundo.<sup>2</sup>

Alan Canhiart, count of Cornouaille, founded this abbey in 1029; he was succeeded by his son Hoel, who having married Hawise sister and heir of Conan II, duke of Brittany, became duke on the death of his brother-in-law without issue in 1066. Hoel was succeeded in 1084 by his son Alan Fergant, who in 1112 was succeeded by his son Conan III, father of the countess Bertha.

No abbey of St. Tudi is known. The witness who is styled abbot occurs as a layman, and may have acquired the designation as a nickname.

**70. Charter of Conan IV endowing an altar in the church of St. Mary, Guingamp. At Guingamp. [1162-71]**

Pd. in A. Lemasson, *Documents . . . de l'abbaye . . . de Beaulieu* (Nantes, 1915), p. 59, from Bibl. Nat. MS. Lat. 17092; Morice, *Histoire de Bretagne, Preuves*, i, col. 635, from a 12th-century copy.<sup>3</sup>

Charter of Conan, duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond, reciting that whereas he is erecting in the church of the Blessed Mary the Virgin at Guingamp an altar in honour of St. Denis for the remission of his sins and of those of his father and mother and all his posterity with an endowment for one of the canons of the abbey of the B.M. of Pont-Pilard of 4 *li.* yearly (sources named) and in addition sufficient sustentation (*procuracionem sufficientem*) for him and his clerk at the castle (*in mota*), whether he, the duke, be present or absent, he has invested Moakius<sup>3</sup> the chaplain of Bertha his mother with the said altar and rent; and that he may be a partaker in the benefits of the said abbey of Pont-Pilard, he grants (*confirmo et concedo*) for himself and his successors to the said abbey freedom from 'taille' (*tallia*) and all other exactions all that they possess or shall acquire whether in alms or by purchase.

'Quod ut ratum et inconcussum permaneat, sigilli mei feci munimine roborari. Hujus autem negotii sunt testes: Willelmus Trecorensis episcopus, Moises abbas de Sancta Cruce, Margareta comitissa, Alanus de Rohan, Rivalonus prior de Begar, Abraham capellanus, Martinus capellanus, Robertus cancellarius, Rikardus<sup>4</sup> et Alanus gemelli, Radulfus camerarius, Gaufridus filius Loez, Lambertus computator, cum pluribus aliis. Karta ista data est Wincampi. Valet.'

<sup>1</sup> See note to no. 52.

<sup>2</sup> In the list of witnesses Morice omits from *de Sancta Cruce* to *Rivalonus prior de*, thus making Moises abbot of Bégard incorrectly. Moises was abbot of Holy Cross, Guingamp; he had previously been chaplain to Hawise wife of count Stephen (Morice, *Preuves*, i, col. 681).

<sup>3</sup> *Monkius*, Morice.

<sup>4</sup> *Rivardus*, Lemasson, but incorrectly.

This charter was evidently issued after the death of Conan's mother, the countess Bertha, who was alive at the date of charter no. 68 and died before Aug. 1167.<sup>1</sup> It is likely that a gift of this kind, which also included a provision for her chaplain, was made soon after her death; and the charter is therefore in all probability considerably earlier than 1171.

The abbey of Pont-Pilard, founded by Rolland de Dinan for canons regular in the parish of Mégrit (Ille-et-Vilaine), was subsequently known as the abbey of Beaulieu.

**71. Gift and confirmation by Conan IV to the abbey of Savigny. At Rennes, in the cathedral. 2 Feb. 1162[-3].**

Pd. in A. de la Borderie, *Recueil*, no. 50, from the original in the Archives Nationales, L. 1146. 2; Morice, *Histoire de Bretagne, Preuves*, i, col. 646, from the chartulary of the abbey of Savigny.<sup>2</sup>

Charter of Conan, duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond, giving to the monks of Savigny 'Campus Floridus' [Champfleuri, arr. Rennes] for the erection of a grange; and confirmation of other lands, rights and granges.

'Actum Redonis anno ab incarnatione Domini MCLXII die Purificationis beate Marie in ecclesia beati Petri, presente ipsius ecclesie capitulo. Testibus, Eudone archidiacono, Radulfo Bigurt, Helia cantore, Guidenoco, Maldeto magistro scholarum, Tecelino, Marbodo, Gaufrido de Sancto Hermagiro,<sup>3</sup> Gaufrido Gueguen, Hugone, canonicis; Petro et Radulfo, capellanis; Philipo de Campania, Oliverio de Apineio, Alano constabulario.'

*Fragment of an equestrian seal, obverse and reverse.*

**72. Confirmation by Conan, duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond, to the abbey of Mont St. Michel of Wath [nr. Ripon] with the church, as his ancestors gave it. At Wilton. [c. Jan. 1163-4]**

Cartulaire de la Basse-Normandie (P.R.O. transcripts), ii, 285, no. 69, from the Chartulary of Mont. St. Michel in the Public Library of Avranches, Avranches MS. 210.<sup>4</sup> Witnesses pd. in Round, *Cal. Docs. France*, p. 274n.

Conanus dux Britannie comes Richemund[ie] dapifero suo et constabulario suo et camerario suo et omnibus ministris suis et omnibus hominibus suis Francis, Britannis et Anglis, salutem. Notum sit vobis omnibus me concessisse et hac mea carta confirmasse abbati et conventui sancti Michaelis de Periculo Maris Wath cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, scilicet in ecclesia et extra ecclesiam, ita libere et quiete sicut antecessores mei eis illam dederunt, in bosco, in plano, in villa et extra villam, in terra arabili et non arabili, in aquis, in piscariis, in molendinis,

<sup>1</sup> See no. 57 above. <sup>2</sup> Witnesses as in the former text.

<sup>3</sup> For *Armagilo*; modern St. Armel.

<sup>4</sup> The copy in the Farrer MSS. from the P.R.O. transcripts (made by M. d'Anisy in 1836), has been corrected in a French hand in red ink; these corrections, doubtless made for him from the chartulary at Avranches, are included in the text here printed. The text given in La Borderie, *Recueil*, no. 53, from the same source is not completely accurate.

in pascuis, in pratis, cum soco et saca et thol et theim et infangentieh[f]. Testibus, Radulfo filio Ribaldi, Roberto filio suo, Garnerio filio Guimari,<sup>1</sup> Alano constabulario, Herveo filio Acarie, Georgio filio cam[er]arii,<sup>2</sup> Nigello fratre suo, S.<sup>3</sup> comite Raginaldo, comite Roberto Leyrecestrie, Bartholomeo episcopo Exonie, Roberto filio regis, Alano de Furnel[lis], Pagano capellano, Richardo<sup>4</sup> priore de Otritonie,<sup>5</sup> Willelmo de sancto Petro, Roberto filio Humfredi. Apud Wiltoniam.

Some notes on Wath, near Ripon, in the wapentake of Hallikeld in the North Riding of Yorkshire,<sup>6</sup> are given in Chapter V, §7, where three other charters relating to the connection with Mont St. Michel will be printed. An earlier confirmation by earl Conan of Wath is printed above (no. 54). The date of the original gift of Wath by Conan's ancestors is unknown. The vill called Wath with the church and everything belonging to the vill is among the possessions confirmed to the abbey of Mont St. Michel by pope Adrian IV on 13 Feb. 1155-6.<sup>7</sup> Conan's confirmation was itself confirmed by king Henry II by a charter of date 1175-79;<sup>8</sup> and Farrer points out in his MS. annotation that it was undoubtedly issued in 1175 during Robert de Torigni's visit to England. To this visit Robert thus refers:

'Robertus abbas Montis, scriptor horum temporum, pergens in Angliam promeruit a domino rege cartam et sigillum omnium elemosynarum ecclesie Montis que date fuerant predictae ecclesie usque ad presens tempus et dabuntur in futurum.'<sup>9</sup>

The date of the present charter—Conan's confirmation—can be assigned to the early part of 1164. He was present at the Council of Clarendon in January, as were also Reginald earl of Cornwall, Robert earl of Leicester, and Bartholomew bishop of Exeter, who witnessed the charter; and the place Wilton points to the same conclusion.

**73.** Confirmation by Conan, duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond, to the abbey of Savigny of the church of [Long] Bennington [co. Lincoln], which had been given by his cousin Ralph de Fougères with the consent of the latter's mother Olive, the duke's aunt. [At Rennes]. 1166.

Pd. in Morice, *Histoire de Bretagne, Preuves*, i, col. 657, from the original then at Savigny; abst. in Round, *Cal. Docs. France*, no. 848.

<sup>1</sup> *Gunnarii*, P.R.O.

<sup>2</sup> These three witnesses omitted in P.R.O.

<sup>3</sup> *Sic*.

<sup>4</sup> *Ricardo*, P.R.O.

<sup>5</sup> *Otriton'*, P.R.O. Read *Otriton* or omit *de*. The house was Otterton, Devon, a cell of Mont St. Michel.

<sup>6</sup> The identification is necessary, as it is wrongly given as Wath upon Dearne [in the West Riding] in the index to *Cal. Docs. France*.

<sup>7</sup> *Cal. Docs. France*, no. 736; Wath is described as being in dio. Durham; but in the copy from another source pd. in *Mon. Ang.*, vi, 991 the dio. is York.

<sup>8</sup> Cartulaire de la Basse-Normandie, ii, 286, no. 70, from the original in the archives of La Manche; abst. in *Cal. Docs. France*, no. 756, pd. in full in *Robert de Torigni* (Rolls Series), p. 357, and in Delisle and Berger, *Recueil des Actes de Henri II*, no. 544, where reasons are given for the date May 1175-1176 or 1179.

<sup>9</sup> *Robert de Torigni*, p. 269.

Conanus dux Britannie et comes Richemundie omnibus ecclesie sancte filiis atque omnibus baronibus et vicecomitibus et prepositis et justiciariis et ministris et baillivis atque omnibus fidelibus hominibus suis Francis et Anglicis totius Anglie salutem. Notum volo vobis fieri Radulfum Filgeriarum dominum cognatum meum, Oliva matre ipsius amita mea concedente, dedisse monachis Sauignei in perpetuam elemosinam ecclesiam Brintonie integerrime cum omnibus pertinentiis suis. Ego autem ut ejusdem elemosine particeps fieri meruissem, eandem ecclesiam integerrime similiter cum omnibus pertinentiis suis supradictis monachis Sauignei in perpetuam elemosinam liberam penitus et quietam concessi et presenti scripto et sigilli mei impressione muniri et confirmari feci. Facta est autem hec mea concessio atque confirmatio anno ab incarnatione MCLXVI in thalamo juxta turrim. Testibus his, Radulfo de Filgeriis, Willelmo And[egavino] fratre suo, Simone de Monborcher, Galterio filio Zacharie,<sup>1</sup> Eudone filio alterius,<sup>2</sup> Abraham capellano.<sup>3</sup>

The place 'in thalamo juxta turrim' often occurs in Breton charters and is recognized as denoting Rennes. Ralph de Fougères was son of Henry de Fougères by Olive, a daughter of count Stephen; he was therefore earl Conan's first cousin. He helped Conan to expel his stepfather from the duchy in 1156.<sup>3</sup> For a charter issued to him by Conan see no. 51. In 1185 as steward of Brittany he witnessed a charter of duke Geoffrey at Rennes.<sup>4</sup> He died in 1194.<sup>5</sup>

It seems clear that the manor of Long Bennington was given to Olive by her father in frank-marriage. In 1163 Ralph de Fougères gave *inter alia* to the abbey of Savigny the church of Long Bennington, in which place a dependent priory was established.<sup>6</sup> His gift of the church, described as his mother's inheritance, was the subject of another charter,<sup>7</sup> which was confirmed as above by earl Conan. Olive daughter of count Stephen issued a notification in 1174 that she had given the church to Savigny with the unanimous consent of William de Sancto Johanne her [second] husband and Ralph de Fougères and her other sons.<sup>8</sup> William de Sancto Johanne held the manor of Long Bennington (*Belingtona*) at his death.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Probably *Acharie* is intended, the witness being Walter son of Acaris who occurs in several other charters.

<sup>2</sup> *Eudone filio suo* in *Cal. Docs. France*, apparently in error. See note to no. 52 above.

<sup>3</sup> See Chapter II.

<sup>4</sup> *Cal. Docs. France*, no. 838.

<sup>5</sup> See the pedigree of the family of Fougères by Léopold Delisle in *Arch. Ass. Journal*, vii, 123. Ralph's sepulchral effigy is now in the castle of Fougères. For his seal see G. Demay, *Inventaire des Sceaux de la Normandie*, p. 31, nos. 268, 269.

<sup>6</sup> *Mon. Ang.*, vi, 1024; *Cal. Docs. France*, no. 846.

<sup>7</sup> *Cal. Docs. France*, no. 847.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 849. There follow several charters relating to the church. In 1201 William de Fougères [son of Ralph] gave to Savigny a yearly rent of 2 marks of silver from his manor of [Long] Bennington (no. 857).

<sup>9</sup> See the charters relating to the marriage between Ranulf, earl of Chester, and his second wife Clemence granddaughter of Ralph de Fougères and widow of Alan de Dinan, which are printed in Ormerod, *Cheshire*, 1st ed., i, 39.

*broken*



74. Confirmation by Conan IV to the abbey of Bégard [Britanny].  
[1166-71]

Pd. in J. Geslin de Bourgogne and A. de Barthélemy, *Anciens Evêchés de Bretagne*, vi, pp. 133-4, from a notarial copy of 27 Jan. 1304-5 in Bibl. Nat. Coll. Blancs-Manteaux, vol. 73, T.I. f. 120.

Charter of Conan, duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond, taking under his protection the abbey of Bégard and confirming to it all its possessions (named) as it held them 'temporibus patris mei bone memorie Allani comitis et avunculi mei H[enrici] comitis, necnon in tempore meo post eos. . . . . Precor te dominum meum regem et omnes homines meos etc. Testibus, Henrico comite, Eudone alterius filius, gemellis<sup>1</sup> Ricardo et Alano, et aliis pluribus.'

The words *dominum meum regem* must refer to king Henry II, and indicate that the charter was issued at a date subsequent to the surrender of the duchy. For an earlier confirmation, issued in 1158, see no. 48.

75. Foundation by Conan IV of the abbey of St. Maurice, Carnoët [Britanny, dept. Côtes-du-nord].  
[1167-71]

Pd. in Lobineau, *Histoire de Bretagne*, ii, col. 308; Morice, *Histoire de Bretagne, Preuves*, i, col. 664; from a 'vidimus' of Hervey bishop of Quimper, A.D. 1259.

Charter of Conan, duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond, founding the abbey of St. Maurice of Carnoët.

'Hujus doni testes sunt, Gaufridus Corisop[itensis] episcopus, qui etiam in presentia mea eis quod ad se pertinebat concessit, Rivallonus archidiaconus, Glegman decanus, Alanus constabularius, Alanus et Richardus gemelli, Henricus Bertrans, Alanus et Rivallo filii Elmarc, Alanus de Balamboris.'

The first witness Geoffrey succeeded Bernard, bishop of Quimper, who had died 2 Aug. 1167. The name of the last witness is probably a corruption for Alan de Bassingbourne. The charter is of importance in showing that Alan the constable of Richmond was with the earl in Brittany at this late period.

76. Confirmation by Conan IV to the Hospitallers. At Quimper. 1160 (*sic*). [? *spurious*].

Pd. in J. Geslin de Bourgogne and A. de Barthélemy, *Anciens Evêchés de Bretagne*, vi, pp. 127-130; Morice, *Histoire de Bretagne, Preuves*, i, col. 638.

Charter of Conan, duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond, confirming to the Hospitallers all their possessions (fully specified) in his duchy (*in ducatu meo*).

'Ego Conanus dux et comes Richemundie libere et quiete concessi hec omnia domui supradicte pro amore ejusdem domus et fratris Eguen familiaris nostri anno ab incarnatione Domini M<sup>o</sup>C<sup>o</sup>LX<sup>mo</sup>, reg-

<sup>1</sup> *gemello* as pd.

nante Ludovico Francorum rege et Henrico Anglorum rege, Corisopitensem episcopatum Gaufrido tenente. Testes, Haemo Leonensis episcopus, Gauffredus Corisopitensis episcopus, Riguallonus abbas Kemperlegii, Gradlonus abbas Sancti Guingualoei, prior de Monte Sancti Michaelis, Guillelmus Ferron frater de Templo, Robertus cancellarius ducis, Alanus clericus, Margarita ducissa, Martinus ejus cappellanus, Richardus et Alanus gemelli, Renaldus Boterel, Henricus Bretram<sup>1</sup>, Henricus filius Haervei, Alanus Rufus, Alanus de Mota et clerus Corisopitensis ecclesie, apud Kemper Corentin.<sup>2</sup>

The authors of *Anciens Evêchés* consider this, as also the charter for the Templars (no. 77), as having been fabricated at the end of the thirteenth century from earlier and genuine documents. The date is an impossible one, for Bernard, bishop of Quimper, Geoffrey's predecessor, died 2 Aug. 1167, and Rivallon did not become abbot of Quimperlé until 1163. On the other hand a confirmation in these wide terms is unlikely after Conan's surrender of the duchy, which is expressly mentioned as his, in 1166. The form of the charter differs materially from that of Conan's authentic charters, which were witnessed by 'Margareta comitissa'; 'ducissa,' except when followed by the territorial designation in the opening words of a charter granted by her, is not found otherwise; again 'cancellarius ducis' does not occur in Conan's genuine charters. These points suggest that the document is spurious.

#### 77. Confirmation by Conan IV to the Templars. At Quimper. [? spurious].

Pd. in J. Geslin de Bourgogne and A. de Barthélemy, *Anciens Evêchés de Bretagne*, vi, pp. 136-141; A. de la Borderie, *Recueil*, no. 49, from a 'vidimus' by Francis II, duke of Brittany, 20 Nov. 1473, in the archives of La Loire-Inférieure.

Charter of Conan, duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond, confirming to the Templars their possessions (fully specified) in all his duchy (*in omni ducatu meo*).

'Huic dono et concessioni legitimi testes interfuerunt: egomet qui dedi et concessi, Haimo Leonensis episcopus, G[aufridus] Corisopitensis episcopus, R[iguallonus] Kemperleiensis abbas, capitulum sancti Corentini, Iuen magister Hospitalis in Britannia, Regnaut Boterel, Guimmars junior vicecomes, Gemelli, Henry (*sic*) Bertran. Factum est hoc in Kemper Corentin, anno Dominice incarnationis millesimo octuagesimo (*sic*) secundo.'

La Borderie notes that this charter has been regarded as of doubtful authenticity. He suggests that *octuagesimo* is an error for *sexagesimo*. But the second witness did not become bishop of Quimper before 1167, which narrows the date to 1167-71; and as Conan had surrendered the duchy in 1166 its mention in this charter is difficult to explain. See also note to no. 76. If genuine the two charters would be of the same date in view of the witnesses; but no emendation of the date of either charter would be satisfactory.

<sup>1</sup> Recte *Bertram*.

78. Confirmation by Conan IV to the abbey of Mont St. Michel. 1170 (*sic*). [*? spurious*].

Cartulaire de la Basse Normandie (P.R.O. transcripts), ii, 284, no. 68, from the Chartulary of Mont St. Michel in the Public Library of Avranches, Avranches MS. 210. Pd. in Morice, *Histoire de Bretagne, Preuves*, i, col. 662; abst. in Round, *Cal. Docs. France*, no. 750.

Charter of Conan, duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond, confirming the gift by his predecessors of Trevenner [Britanny] to the church of St. Michael [Mont St. Michel] and the monks there serving God, free from all claims and demands, with all its appurtenances and the isles adjoining it, lands cultivated or not, meadows, waters, and two-thirds of the tithe, saving only the body of the thief tried (*judicati*) in St. Michael's court, and military service to the count (*exercitu comitis*) rendered by a monk's hand and saving the seventh penny of a moiety of thief's chattels, and a moiety of forfeiture of blood (*forifaci sanguinis*) and a moiety of fines for removing land marks (*mete terre injuste occupate*).

'Anno ab incarnatione Domini MCLXX. Testibus, Gaufrido episcopo Cornubiensi, Hammone Leonensi episcopo, Ruellendo abbate Quimperle, Salamone<sup>1</sup> archidiacono, Eveno Hospital[is] magistro, Guillelmo Ferron Templi magistro, clericis; duobus geminis fratribus; Henrico dapifero, Henrico Bertran, Henrico Hervei filio, Alano Rufo, laicis.'

Although this is only a confirmation the mention of jurisdictional exemptions suggests that the date may be incorrectly given, for Conan had ceased to be *de facto* ruler of Brittany in 1166. On the other hand the first witness did not become bishop of Quimper (the capital of the province of Cornouaille) until 1167. The charter must therefore be regarded with suspicion.

79. Gift by Conan, duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond, to his kinsman Conan de Aske of all the land which his great-grandfather had within specified bounds, to be outside the forest. [*? spurious*].

Pd. in *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, v, 103, from a copy on paper then (1838) in the collection of M. F. Tupper, esq.

Conanus dux Britannie et comes Richemundie omnibus hominibus suis tam Francis quam Anglis salutem. Notum sit vobis quod dedi et concessi charissimo consanguineo meo Conano [de] Aske totam illam terram quam attavus suus habuit ex orientali parte vie que venit a Marsc in Brathewathe et sic usque Reylgaite et sic versus austrum usque Reyth in le Swale, quantum ad terram suam pertinet, esse extra forestam, etc.

For Conan de Aske, who succeeded Roger his father (the earliest known member of the family) before Michaelmas 1169, see Chapter V, §1E. Farrer's

<sup>1</sup> Simone, Morice.

note on this charter is as follows: "There is a place called Reels Head between High Fremington and the Swale. Part of the ground within the boundary described would be in Fremington and quite outside the fee which belonged to the family of Aske. It will be observed that earl Conan purports to describe the grantee as his cousin. If this was a copy of a genuine document it might be suggested that *attavus* was a misreading for some personal name such as *Actius avus*; but it is probably spurious."

It would not be appropriate to add to this collection of charters issued by earl Conan the text of a charter printed apparently from the muniments at Marske in a paper on Marske in Swaledale in *Yorks. Arch. Journal*, vi, 213. It purports to be a gift by 'Conanus filius Conani, comes Richmondie' to Harsculf Cleseby, his dearest kinsman and constable of his castle of Richmond, of extensive rights of common and other rights and the advowson of the church of Marske. The style of the earl is obviously corrupt; it is almost impossible to suppose that a Harsculf [de] Cleasby could have been constable of Richmond in the time of earl Conan; and apart from other considerations the 'habendum' clause to Harsculf, his heirs *and assigns* suggests that such a charter could not have been issued before 1200,<sup>1</sup> long after Conan's death. Whatever else may be said of this document it is impossible to regard it as a genuine charter of earl Conan.<sup>2</sup>

#### CHARTERS OF DUCHESS CONSTANCE AND HER HUSBANDS

In addition to the charters printed below, which refer to lands of the honour of Richmond, the texts are available of a large number of charters of duchess Constance and of her first husband Geoffrey, son of king Henry II. As these with one exception are almost entirely of Breton interest they are not calendared here. The exception is the charter of the duchess (no. 85), which shows that she was dealing with possessions of the honour of Richmond shortly before her death.<sup>3</sup> In all their charters they used the styles of duke (or duchess) of Brittany and earl (or countess) of Richmond.

Ranulf, earl of Chester, Constance's second husband, styled himself in right of his wife duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond. He used this style in a general charter mentioning in particular the city of Chester;<sup>4</sup> in a confirmation charter to Stanlaw abbey;<sup>5</sup> in a charter relating to Coventry;<sup>6</sup> and in a charter to the abbey of

<sup>1</sup> See Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law*, ii, 14n.

<sup>2</sup> For a somewhat similar production see the reference to a supposed charter of Walter de Gant in the section in Chapter V dealing with the Gant fee in Swaledale. It is curious that these spurious documents often assign relationships and official positions for which there is no corroborative authority.

<sup>3</sup> On this point see *V.C.H., N.R.*, i, 3. It is clear from the recently printed *Pipe Roll 2 John* that the honour was actually in the king's hand during the year ending Michaelmas 1200.

<sup>4</sup> Ormerod, *Cheshire*, 1st ed., i, 37.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *Inspeximus* of 1348 in *Cal. Ch. Rolls*, 1341-1417, p. 102.



Montmorel, dio. Avranches.<sup>1</sup> In none of these charters was he dealing with lands held in right of his wife. On the other hand in the only available document (no. 84) issued while he was Constance's husband, and in virtue of her right, he styled himself earl of Chester.

Guy de Thouars, Constance's third husband whom she married in 1199, styled himself duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond in a charter which he issued jointly with Constance in favour of the abbey of 'Melerai,' with the assent *domini Arthuri*;<sup>2</sup> Arthur being her heir by her first husband. Arthur, described as duke of Brittany, count of Anjou and [earl of] Richmond, with the counsel of Constance his mother and of William de Rupibus his steward, issued a charter giving to Robert de Vitre his kinsman the castle of Langeais, dated at Le Mans in June 1199.<sup>3</sup> In the previous month he was so described in a charter of king Philip Augustus.<sup>4</sup> Using the same style he issued charters to the cathedral church of Le Mans in 1199, *consulatus nostri anno primo*;<sup>5</sup> to the abbey of Perseigne, dio. Le Mans, in June 1199;<sup>6</sup> and to the hospital of St. Jean, Angers, in Oct. 1199.<sup>7</sup> There appear to be no charters issued by him to show that he was ever in possession of the lands of the honour of Richmond.<sup>8</sup>

80. Confirmation by Geoffrey, son of king Henry, duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond, to Kirkstead abbey of 2½ carucates of land in Gayton [le Wold, Lincs.] which earl Conan had given with the church, and half a carucate which earl Conan had given later. At Winchester.

[1171-84]

PLATE XIV.

Original charter, Harley Ch. 43 C. 35. Pd. in F. M. Stenton, *Danelaw Charters* (British Academy), no. 164.

.G. regis. H. filius. dux. Brit[annie] et comes Richemund[ie]. dapifero. constabulario. camerario suo. et omnibus ministris suis. et omnibus hominibus suis Francis et Anglis. sal[utem]. Sciatis me concessisse. et presenti carta mea confirmasse ecclesie sancte Marie de Kerkesteda. et monachis ibidem Deo seruientibus. duas carrucatas terre et dimidiam. in villa de Gaituna. quas comes Conanus eis dedit in elemosinam. cum ecclesia eiusdem ville. et illam dimidiam carrucatam terre in eadem villa. quam comes. Conanus retinuerat in manu sua eo tempore. quo eis dederat predictas duas carrucatas et dimidiam. cum ecclesia eiusdem ville. set postea illam dimidiam carrucatam terre eis

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. Docs. France*, no. 786.

<sup>2</sup> La Borderie, *Recueil*, no. 67.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 66, from the original in the Archives Nationales, J 241, no. 1; abst. in *Cal. Docs. France*, no. 1305.

<sup>4</sup> Quoted in *Complete Peerage*, 1st ed., vi, 348.

<sup>5</sup> *Cal. Docs. France*, no. 1024.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 1030; and cf. no. 1031.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 1159; among the witnesses being Guy de Thouars 'comes Britannie,' and Alan the twin.

<sup>8</sup> For the interest of Guy de Thouars in the honour during the period 1201-1203 see *V.C.H., N.R.*, i, 4.

C. Reg. h. lit. Dux. Rur. 7 Com Richemund. Capto. Constabario. Amiano luo.  
 7 omib' Humilibus suis. 7 omib' hoib' suis limal 7 dughis. Sat. Gauf me gael  
 lile. 7 pienti carta mea ghrimille. Ectie scē Marie de herkelsteda. 7 monachis  
 ibide de lenuemib'. Dnas carrucatal tre 7 dimid. i Villa de Gairund. qual lōm  
 Conan eil dedit in elemosinā. cū ecclia eide villa. Et illa dimid carrucatal tre  
 in eade villa. q' lōm. Conan penmugat in exmu sua ex rrupore. q' eil dedit pōicta  
 dual carrucatal 7 dimid. cū ecclia eide villa. Ser postea illa dimid carrucatal tre  
 eil gedit. de le tenendit. p. xx. solit in annuat reddend. sibi ut hēdib' suis.  
 Quare volo 7 lrimē pōio qd pōicti monachi hec pōicta. habeant. 7 teneant.  
 de me 7 hēdib' meis cū omib' pmenant suis. i pōl 7 pastun. i Boleo 7 plano.  
 i Aql. 7 molendin. i viis. 7 semit. 7 in omib' alijs locis. 7 alijs reb'. ad ea pti-  
 nentib'. cū omib' libentib'. 7 libis glumendib' suis. ut bene 7 i pace. libe 7 qere.  
 planarie integre. 7 honeste. licet ante lōm Conan. q' ide hnt restant. Velle.  
 David de sece. Rogo Bigor. hug de gowewie. hug. Bardulf. Alano. Gemello. Gerard  
 de lurninatt. Rad canario. Alano de Balligot. Rad etico de herlond. philippo filio  
 Johis. Velle fit Rad. Gilet de olleh. Ad canario. Alur Vincellre.





concessit. de se tenendam. per .xx<sup>ti</sup>. solidos inde annuatim reddendos. sibi uel heredibus suis. Quare volo et firmiter precipio quod predicti monachi hec predicta. habeant. et teneant. de me et heredibus meis cum omnibus pertinentiis suis. in pratis et pasturis. in boscho. et plano. in aquis. et molendinis. in viis. et semitis. et in omnibus aliis locis. et aliis rebus. ad ea pertinentibus. cum omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus suis. ita bene. et in pace. libere et quiete. plenarie integre. et honorifice. sicut carte comitis Conani quas inde habent testantur. Teste. Daud de Scoce. Rogero Bigot. Hugone de Morewic. Hugone Bardulf. Alano. gemello. Gerardo de Furniual'. Radulfo camerario. Alano de Bassigb[urna]. Radulfo clerico de Hoilond'. Philippo filio Johannis. Willelmo filio Radulfi. Gileberto de Osteli. Adam camerario. Aput Wincestre.

*Seal: dark green wax; equestrian, obverse and reverse.*<sup>1</sup>

The earliest limit of date for this charter is 1171, when earl Conan died. Duke Geoffrey was born in 1158. It has been suggested that he was never in England after his departure for Brittany in 1179;<sup>2</sup> but actually there is good evidence that he was summoned to England in the latter part of 1184 for a family reconciliation, and was sent back by his father to Normandy in December.<sup>3</sup> This is certainly the latest date at which he could have been in England; he died at Paris in 1186. He was at Winchester in April 1176 and Christmas 1178, and still in England in April 1179.<sup>4</sup> But it is significant that David, brother of the king of Scotland, was with the king at Windsor at Christmas 1184;<sup>5</sup> Hugh de Morwich's earliest date as a witness to a royal charter is apparently 1181;<sup>6</sup> and his period and that of Hugh Bardolf point to a late date. It is tempting to urge in support of the year 1184 the fact that Ranulf de Glanville accounted for the honour of earl Conan at Michaelmas 1183<sup>7</sup> as he had done for preceding years, and that he rendered no accounts in the following year, which might suggest that at this period Geoffrey became definitely possessed of the honour. But it seems clear that after earl Conan's death in 1171 the honour was destined for him and Constance, in addition to the duchy of Brittany already assigned to his use in 1166. The revenues may have been collected on his behalf, and in any case his status may have been sufficient to make the issue of confirmation charters desirable, though he would scarcely have been of an age to issue charters and possess a seal before *c.* 1176. Certainly he used the style of earl of Richmond in a Breton charter dated 1181.<sup>8</sup> It is the names of the witnesses rather than a reason of this kind which make the year 1184 the more likely date.

The charters of earl Conan to Kirkstead abbey, to which reference is made by duke Geoffrey, are printed above, nos. 46 and 64.

<sup>1</sup> *B.M. Cat. of Seals*, no. 6318.

<sup>2</sup> Delisle, *Recueil des Actes de Henri II, Introduction*, p. 372.

<sup>3</sup> *Gesta Henrici* (Rolls Ser.), pp. 319, 320. Cf. the full account of Geoffrey in *D.N.B.*

<sup>4</sup> Eyton, *Itinerary of Henry II*, pp. 201, 224, 226.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 259.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 245.

<sup>7</sup> *Pipe Roll 29 Hen. II*, p. 56.

<sup>8</sup> Morice, *Hist. de Bretagne, Preuves*, i, col. 688.



81. Confirmation by Geoffrey son of king Henry, duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond, to Easby abbey of all the lands and possessions which earl Conan had given, except a messuage in Boston; and confirmation of all the lands and possessions which the men of his fee had given. [1171-84]

Easby Chartulary, Egerton MS. 2827, f. 322.

G[alfridus] Henrici regis filius, dux Britannie, comes Richem[undie], dapifero, constabulario, camerario suo et omnibus ministris et baronibus et militibus et omnibus hominibus suis Francis et Anglis salutem. Notum sit vobis omnibus me concessisse et hac carta confirmasse ecclesie sancte Agathe Richm[undie] et canonicis ibidem Deo servientibus omnes terras et tenuras et possessiones quas comes Conanuis eis dedit et cartis suis confirmavit, excepta mansura terre in villa sancti Botulphi. Quare volo et precipio quod predicta ecclesia et canonici prenominati habeant et teneant terras et tenuras et possessiones predictas de me et de heredibus meis hereditarie, in puram et perpetuam elemosinam, bene<sup>1</sup> et in pace cum omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus, sicut carte comitis Conani testantur. Item confirmo canonicis predictis omnes terras et tenuras et possessiones quas homines de feodo meo eis dederunt, salvo servicio meo. T[estibus].

The later limit of date is suggested on the assumption that this charter was issued in England. For charters issued by earl Conan to Easby abbey see nos. 36 to 39.

82. Gift by Constance, duchess of Brittany and countess of Richmond, to Richard the booth-keeper and his heirs of a stone-built booth, rendering 8*d.* yearly for all service. [1181-1201]

Easby Chartulary, Egerton MS. 2827, f. 30*d.*

Constancia comitis Conani filia, ducissa Brittan[nie], comitissa Richem[undie], dapifero suo et omnibus hominibus suis clericis et laicis has literas inspecturis salutem. Notum sit vobis omnibus me dedisse et hac mea carta confirmasse Ricardo bothetario et suis heredibus suam botham lapideam, tenendam de me et de meis heredibus in feodo et hereditate, reddendo proinde mihi et meis heredibus viij. denarios annuatim pro omni servicio, videlicet ad Pentecosten iiij. denarios et ad sanctum Martinum iiij. denarios. Quare volo et precipio quod prefatus Ricardus et sui heredes predictam botham bene et in pace, libere, quiete et honorifice habeant et teneant de me et de meis heredibus per prenominationum servicium. Ipsum autem Ricardum quietum clamavi ab omni consuetudine mihi pertinente per terram meam. T[estibus], Alano gemello, etc.

It is unlikely that this charter could have been issued before Constance's first marriage in 1181. Its occurrence in the Easby Chartulary suggests that the booth was in Richmondshire, probably in or near Richmond.<sup>2</sup> At

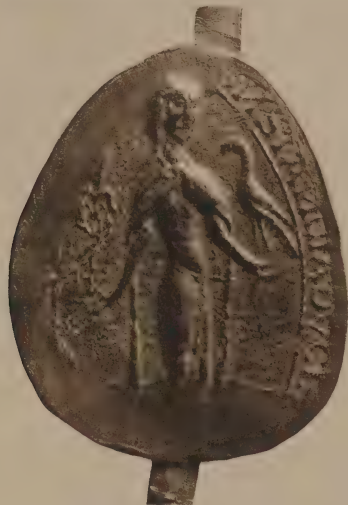
<sup>1</sup> *in bene*, MS., possibly in error for *ita bene*.

<sup>2</sup> The folio-heading is *Richem*'.



Reverendo et humo patri suo. D. de gra london Episcopo. Cantuariensis Archiepiscopo filia.  
 Ducessa Britannie. Comitissa Norwiche et Derby de veneranda. Si amoniam de  
 futuris paternis vestris partibus porrigere que possit deinde rogatus. quod  
 de amore et per meam consensionem. Eodem de Ceteris huiusmodi precibus.  
 quam habet ex dono. Comitis Comitis partibus mei et meo. et aliquid res  
 gratia confirmatione. Et ex ipsa. apud Cantuariam.

No. 83

Size  $5\frac{1}{4}$  by  $1\frac{3}{4}$  in.

Reverendo et humo patri suo. D. de gra london Episcopo. Cantuariensis Archiepiscopo filia.  
 Ducessa Britannie. Comitissa Norwiche et Derby de veneranda. Si amoniam de  
 futuris paternis vestris partibus porrigere que possit deinde rogatus. quod  
 de amore et per meam consensionem. Eodem de Ceteris huiusmodi precibus.  
 quam habet ex dono. Comitis Comitis partibus mei et meo. et aliquid res  
 gratia confirmatione. Et ex ipsa. apud Cantuariam.

No. 84

Size  $6\frac{1}{4}$  by 3 in.

a date not earlier than 1201 Roald the constable gave to Norman nephew *Ricardi bothetarii* land in the bailey (*bailo*) of Richmond;<sup>1</sup> the bailey being the market-place.

83. Request by Constance daughter of earl Conan, duchess of Brittany and countess of Richmond, to R[ichard], bishop of London, to receive the canons of Fougères into the rectory of the church of Cheshunt [co. Hertford], which they had of the gift of earl Conan her father and of her own gift. [1189-98]

*Le Teilleul*

PLATE XV.

Original manuscript, Cotton Ch. xi, 45. Pd. in *Mon. Ang.*, vi, 1114.

Reuerendo et karissimo patri suo. R. Dei gracia London[iensi] episcopo. Const[ancia] Conani comitis filia. ducissa Brit[annie]. comitissa Rich[emundie]. salutem et debitam reuerenciam. Pro canonicis de Fulgeriis paternitati vestre preces porrigo quantum possum attentius rogans. quod pro Dei amore et prece mea eos in personatum ecclesie de Cestrehont recipiatis. quam habent ex dono Conani comitis patris mei et meo. et cartarum nostrarum confirmatione. T[este]. me ipsa. Apud Teillolium.

*Seal on a tongue of the parchment; brown wax.*<sup>2</sup>

The extreme limits of date are those of the episcopate of Richard, bishop of London. A settlement of the controversy relating to the church of Cheshunt which had arisen between the abbey of Fougères and the dean and chapter of St. Paul's was effected in the time of Ralph de Diceto the dean, and can be dated certainly not later than 1203 and probably not later than 1198.<sup>3</sup> This settlement was presumably later than the requests made by Constance and her second husband, earl Ranulf. The places of issue of this and the following document have not been identified; geographically Le Teilleul (Manche) to the south of Mortain is the most likely identification of 'Teillolium.'

84. Request by Ranulf, earl of Chester, to [Richard], bishop of London, to aid the canons of Fougères to have possession of the church of Cheshunt which the counts [dukes] of Brittany, his predecessors, had given or to cause them to be given a pension from master Osbert who was then in possession.

[1189-98]

PLATE XV.

Original manuscript, Cotton Ch. xi, 44. Pd. in *Mon. Ang.*, vi, 1114.

Reuerendo et karissimo patri in Christo dilecto. [Ricardo].<sup>4</sup> Lond[oniensi] episcopo. Rann[ulfus] comes Cestr[ie] salutem et debitam

<sup>1</sup> Easby Chartulary, f. 169.

<sup>2</sup> *B.M. Cat. of Seals*, no. 6594.

<sup>3</sup> Newcourt, *Repertorium*, i, 817; it appears to have been made in the time of bishop Richard; and as William of Ely, the king's treasurer, witnessed the earliest date would be c. 1195. The date 1195-98 can therefore be assigned.

<sup>4</sup> Left blank. The chronology suggests that it must have been bishop Richard.



et deuotam subiectionem. Paternitati vestre de qua plene confido preces porrigo affectuosas pro dilectis meis canonicis Fulgeriensibus. quantum possum rogans instancia quod diuine pietatis intuitu et mee petitionis interuentu. predictos canonicos iuuētis et promoueatis ad habendam ecclesiam de Cestrehunt quam comites Britann[ie]<sup>1</sup> predecessores mei eis dederunt et cartis suis confirmauerunt sicut uobis satis notum est. Et ipsos canonicos pro Dei amore a iure suo nullo modo prolongare aut disturbare uelit. sed vestri gracia ipsos in possessionem eiusdem ecclesie mittatis. uel pensionem eis reddi faciatis a magistro Osberto qui illam possidet. Et tantum super hoc si placet faciatis. quod me uobis et omnibus uestris obnoxium et deuotum habeatis ad omnia que pro uobis facere potero. Et sciatis quod postquam egrotauī sigillum meum penes me non habui et ideo has litteras uobis destino sub sigillo domine matris mee. T[este]. me ipso. Apud Martill’.

*Seal on a tongue of the parchment; brown wax; scarcely any impression remains.*

85. Gifts by Constance, duchess of Brittany and countess of Richmond, to the abbey of Villeneuve, including a rent of *10li.* from the earldom of Richmond, payable at the fair of Boston. 1201.

Pd. in Lobineau, *Histoire de Bretagne*, ii, col. 326; Morice, *Histoire de Bretagne, Preuves*, i, col. 785; and more fully in A. de la Borderie, *Recueil*, no. 68.

Charter of Constance ‘Conani comitis filia, ducissa Britannie, comitissa Richemundie’, addressed generally. For the health (*remedium*) of her soul and of those of her ancestors, as amends for the ill that she has done, and for the welfare (*salute*) of her dearest son Arthur, she has founded an abbey of the Cistercian order in a place called ‘Cor-tinaria’, and she enumerates the endowments. ‘Insuper dedi eis et assignavi x. libras sterlingorum in Anglia, scilicet super comitatum meum Richemondie annui redditus ad nundinas sancti Botulphi.’ The grange of Villeneuve is to belong to the abbey, with the consent of the whole convent of Buzay. ‘Factum est hoc anno ab incarnatione Domini MCCI. Testibus, G[uillelmo] Buzei abbate, [and others named].’

The abbey of St. Mary, Villeneuve, dio. Nantes, was founded by the duchess as a daughter house of Buzay on 25 March 1200.<sup>2</sup>

86. Confirmation by Ranulf, earl of Chester, to Fountains abbey of all the lands and possessions which the monks had of his fee in Richmondshire, of which they had seisin when he recovered seisin of the lands of Richmondshire. [1205-?12]

Fountains Chartulary, Cotton MS. Tiberius C. xii, f. 320d (old f. 317d). Abst. in *Fountains Chartulary*, ed. Lancaster, p. 198.

<sup>1</sup> In the request of duchess Constance the original donor appears to have been her father; the plural is therefore, perhaps, inaccurate.

<sup>2</sup> La Borderie, *Histoire de Bretagne*, iii, 192.

Ranulfus comes Cestrie omnibus hominibus suis et amicis tam presentibus quam futuris salutem. Sciatis me concessisse et hac presenti carta mea confirmasse Deo et monachis ecclesie sancte Marie de Fontibus omnes terras et possessiones et quicquid habent de feudo meo in Richesmund'sire unde saisinam habuerunt quando seisinam terrarum Richesmund'sire recuperavi, habendas et tenendas sicut carte eorum quas inde habent testantur. Quare precipio omnibus ballivis meis et servientibus meis de Richesmund'sire ut nullum gravamen vel molestiam prefatis monachis inferant, sed eos et homines et res eorum manute[ne]ant et defendant. [Testibus], Hairum<sup>1</sup> filio Hervi, Briano filio Alani, Radulfo<sup>2</sup> de Multon, Roberto de Strengest', Hugone de Magnebi, Willelmo filio Petri de Ricesmund'sire, Radulfo de Huckerbi.

Duchess Constance died in 1201. After the murder of her son Arthur in 1203 and the subsequent events Guy de Thouars, her third husband, lost any interest he had possessed in the honour of Richmond.<sup>3</sup> In Sept. 1203 the king committed to Robert, earl of Leicester, all the land of Richmondshire except the castles of Richmond and Bowes.<sup>4</sup> The earl died in 1204; and on 6 March 1204-5 the king gave to Ranulf, earl of Chester, who had been Constance's second husband, all the lands and fees of the honour of Richmond in Richmondshire, except 9½ knights' fees retained in the king's hand, being 6½ fees held by Roald the constable and 3½ fees held by Henry son of Hervey (of which he acknowledged to hold 3 fees only), the king also retaining in his own hand all the lands and fees of the honour in England outside Richmondshire.<sup>5</sup> During the ensuing years the earl of Chester appears to have retained Richmondshire;<sup>6</sup> and in 1227 he was granted for life under certain conditions that part of the honour which he had of the bail of king John.<sup>7</sup> In 1230 a grant of the honour, which apparently included Richmondshire, was made to Peter, duke of Brittany; but it is doubtful how far the possession of the earl of Chester was actually disturbed. He died in 1232.<sup>8</sup>

The extreme limits of date of the above charter are therefore 1205-32; but if, as is likely, the first witness was Henry son of Hervey [of Ravensworth] the later limit is 1212 when apparently he was dead.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Probably for *Henrico*.

<sup>2</sup> *Radulfus*, MS.

<sup>3</sup> *V.C.H.*, N.R., i, 4.

<sup>4</sup> *Rot. de Liberate*, p. 63.

<sup>5</sup> *Rot. Pat.*, p. 51a.

<sup>6</sup> On 5 June 1216 he was ordered to destroy the castle of Richmond, if it could not be held against the king's enemies (*Rot. Pat.*, p. 186b).

<sup>7</sup> *Pat. Rolls*, 1225-32, p. 124.

<sup>8</sup> See *V.C.H.*, *loc. cit.*, where full details of the complicated history of the honour after the death of duchess Constance are given.

<sup>9</sup> See Chapter V, §46.

## APPENDIX

The following is a list of records of charters of the lords of the honour of which the texts do not appear to be available, and of which no note has been made in the preceding pages. The list has been compiled from various sources, but it is clearly one which is susceptible of several additions.

(i) Count Stephen gave to St. Martin's priory, Richmond, a cell of St. Mary's, York, tithe (two sheaves) of all his demesne lands in [East] Witton, Moulton, Catterick and Forcett.<sup>1</sup>

(ii) Count Stephen, 'comes Britannie,' issued a charter confirming land in Hintlesham, Suffolk, and other land, given by Alan son of Ralph and Agnes his mother to count Aubrey [de Vere]; this is mentioned in a charter of Alexander son of Ralph, Alan's brother, restoring the land to count Aubrey and his heirs.<sup>2</sup>

(iii) Count Stephen gave the church of Hough on the Hill, co. Lincoln, to Robert, bishop of Lincoln. In the period 1100-15 king Henry I issued a writ commanding Geoffrey (*Goisfridus*), dapifer of count Stephen, to reseat the bishop in the church, as the count had given it to him, and to allow him to hold it until the count should return.<sup>3</sup>

(iv) Earl Alan III gave Hough on the Hill, co. Lincoln, and the soke to William son of Hamo for his service, and the said William gave them to the canons of St. Hilary [St. Helier, Jersey] in pure alms.<sup>4</sup> The two houses of St. Helier and St. Mary, Cherbourg were subsequently united;<sup>5</sup> and king Henry II gave the manor and church of Hough to the abbey of St. Mary de Voto, Cherbourg.<sup>6</sup> The alien priory of Hough was a dependency of that house.<sup>7</sup> In 1212 the abbot of Cherbourg held Hough and the soke of the honour of Richmond.<sup>8</sup>

(v) Earl Alan III gave to Swineshead abbey, co. Lincoln, the entire common of his marsh and of all his land which had been dyked, and the vaccary which he held in the marsh by the abbey, with free ingress and egress for the monks and their cattle. This was confirmed by earl Conan; and his confirmation was confirmed by the king on 1 May 1317.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Mon. Ang.*, iii, 603.

<sup>2</sup> Harley Ch. 50 B. 25.

<sup>3</sup> *Reg. Antiquissimum* (Linc. Rec. Soc.), i, 46.

<sup>4</sup> *Bk. of Fees*, p. 186. A later statement entered in *Rot. Hund.*, i, 331 records that the gift to William was made by earl Conan.

<sup>5</sup> *Cal. Docs. France*, no. 952.

<sup>6</sup> *Mon. Ang.*, vi, 1029.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1028.

<sup>8</sup> *Bk. of Fees*, p. 186.

<sup>9</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1313-17, p. 647. The vaccary had been the gift of count Stephen, as appears in the confirmation charter of king Henry II (*Cal. Ch. Rolls*, 1300-26, p. 319).

(vi) Earl Alan III gave the lordship of Spains Hall, par. Finchingfield, Essex to Aubrey de Vere and his heirs "by the title of the service of William de Ispania, of 3 knights' fees, and the service of William son of William of<sup>1</sup> Giechrell or Juichiel, of one knight's fee, and the service of Richard Mascle."<sup>2</sup>

(vii) Earl Alan III and earl Conan issued charters, giving to Alan son of Geoffrey, uncle of Alan de Bosco, land in Leadenham and Fulbeck, co. Lincoln, to hold by the service of one knight, which gift was confirmed by king Henry II. It was said on the other side that earl Geoffrey and countess Constance had given the land to John de Bosco in exchange for land in Angers, and that the countess and her heir, who was under age, ought to warrant it.<sup>3</sup>

(viii) Earl Conan issued a charter to Wigan de Hereford' [Hartforth], giving him 3 carucates of land in Hartforth [par. Gilling]. This was quoted by Wigan in 1206, when he urged that the heirs of earl Conan ought to warrant the charter to him.<sup>4</sup>

(ix) Earl Conan gave 4 carucates of land in Welton le Wold, co. Lincoln, to John son of Meing', to hold by the service of half a knight; the heirs of John were holding the land in 1212.<sup>5</sup> By another gift the earl made up this service with  $\frac{1}{2}$  car. and  $1\frac{1}{8}$  bov. of land in Alvingham.<sup>6</sup>

(x) Earl Conan gave 3 carucates of land in Skidbrooke, co. Lincoln, to Rolland Haket, to hold by the service of  $\frac{9}{10}$  knight; the heirs of Rolland were holding the land in 1212.<sup>7</sup>

(xi) Earl Conan, described as duke of Brittany, gave the church of Donington, co. Lincoln, to the Templars.<sup>8</sup>

(xii) Earl Conan issued charters to Lambert de Multon, one giving him and his heirs the quarter of a knight's fee which Eudo de Kirketun held, as an addition to his knight's fee of Skirbeck [co. Lincoln], all to be held by the service of one knight as the earl's other barons held; and the other giving him the advowsons

<sup>1</sup> Probably 'son' should be inserted before 'of'.

<sup>2</sup> Morant, *Essex*, ii, 363, quoting two charters of earl Alan without date. For William de Ispania see Chapter V, §8.

<sup>3</sup> Case in the year 1194, Alan de Bosco v. John de Bosco, in *Rot. Cur. Regis*, i, 56.

<sup>4</sup> *Rot. de Obl. et Fin.*, p. 352. For Hartforth see Chapter V, §1F.

<sup>5</sup> *Bk. of Fees*, p. 173. For this tenant see note to charter no. 30B.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 174.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* In the same return a gift is recorded by the earl, apparently earl Conan, to 'Wimar the chamberlain' of land in Yarborough and Grainthorpe, co. Lincoln, for half a knight's fee; this gift, which presents a difficulty with regard to the donee, will be discussed in the notes to the Chamberlain's fee in Chapter V, §4.

<sup>8</sup> *Cal. Ch. Rolls*, 1226-57, p. 4.



of the churches of Kirton [co. Lincoln] and 'Algorehundret'.<sup>1</sup> These charters were produced by a later Lambert de Multon in a plea heard in 1241 relating to the advowsons of the churches of Skirbeck and Kirton.<sup>2</sup>

(xiii) Earl Conan issued a charter giving the advowson of the church of Wimpole, co. Cambridge, to Ralph the steward, grandfather of Robert de Insula, who was defendant in a case concerning it against Saer de Quenci in 1208.<sup>3</sup>

(xiv) Earl Conan issued a charter enfeoffing Walter son of Acaris of a third part of Hinton [Cherry Hinton, co. Cambridge] with the advowson of the church, and with soc, sac, toll and team and infangenthef. This charter was found by Henry son and heir of John son of Henry (of whom Walter was 'antecessor') after the death of John son of Henry. Before 1278-79 Henry had died and been succeeded by John his brother.<sup>4</sup>

(xv) Earl Conan founded the priory of Benedictine nuns of St. John the Baptist, Rowney, co. Hertford, and with others endowed it with lands formerly parcels of the manor of Rowney to the yearly value of 10 marks.<sup>5</sup>

(xvi) A gift of 20s. rent made by earl Conan (*comes Conanus*) to the hospital of St. Peter, York is recorded in a confirmation charter issued by Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, in the period 1150-54.<sup>6</sup>

(xvii) Margaret, countess [i.e., duchess] of Brittany [wife of earl Conan], gave to Swineshead abbey, co. Lincoln, all her land in 'Sumerdewyletles.' Her gift was confirmed by the king on 1 May 1317.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Farrer, in his account of the Multon family in H. K. F. MS., identifies this as Algarkirk.

<sup>2</sup> *Abbr. Plac.*, p. 110.

<sup>3</sup> *Curia Regis Rolls*, v, 231. For Ralph the steward see Chapter V, §1.

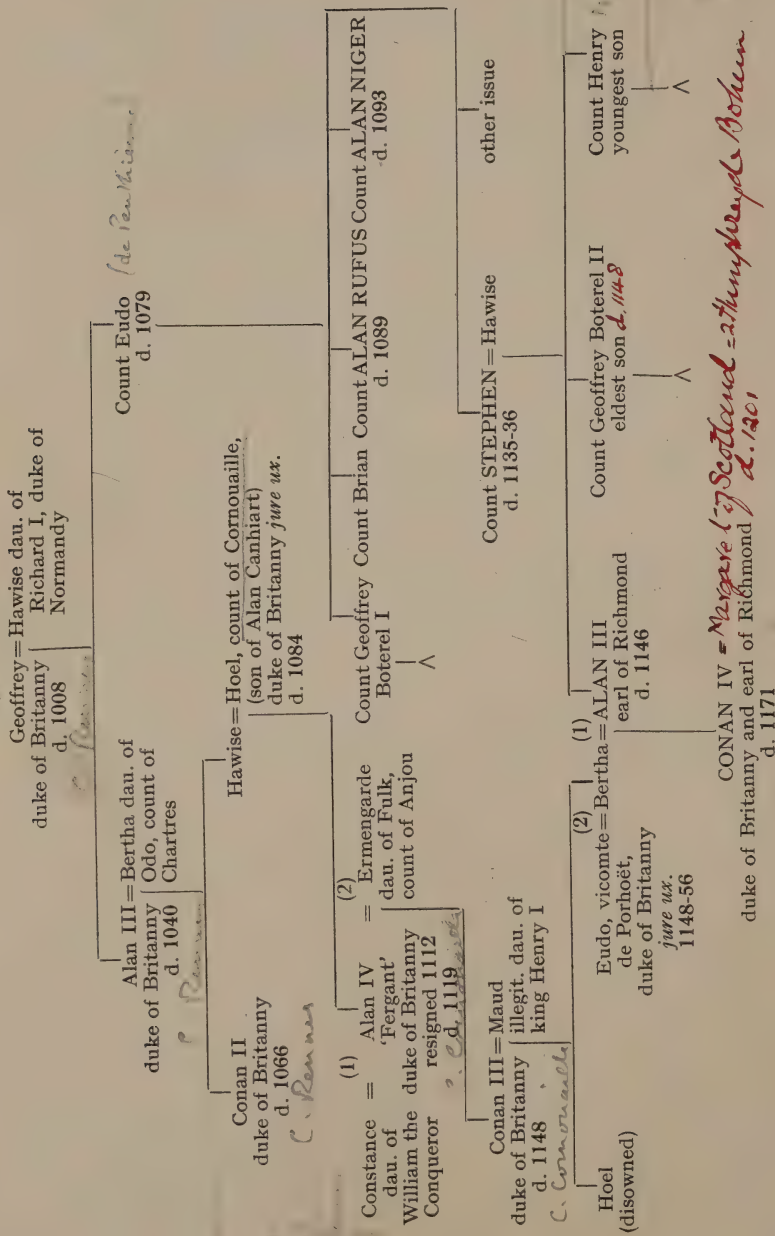
<sup>4</sup> *Rot. Hund.*, ii, 431. For Walter son of Acaris see Chapter V, §46.

<sup>5</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1452-61, p. 503.

<sup>6</sup> *E.Y.C.*, no. 185.

<sup>7</sup> *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1313-17, p. 647.





## CHAPTER II.

### THE DESCENT OF THE EARLY LORDS OF THE HONOUR OF RICHMOND

Eudo, younger son of Geoffrey, duke of Brittany, by Hawise daughter of Richard I, duke of Normandy, became lord of a part of Brittany roughly corresponding to the dioceses of Dol, St. Malo, St. Brieuc and Tréguier, his elder brother Alan retaining the remainder of Brittany with the title of duke.<sup>1</sup> He died in 1079;<sup>2</sup> and had issue :

- (1) Geoffrey Boterel I, a count of Brittany. He succeeded his father, but in his time or that of his successor the bulk of the lands in the dioceses of Dol and St. Malo were lost, the principal lands remaining being Penth-*ièvre*, Tréguier, and probably Guingamp. He was killed at Dol 24 Aug. 1093;<sup>3</sup> and left a son Conan who was killed at Antioch 9 Feb. 1098.<sup>4</sup>
- (2) Brian, a count of Brittany and possibly the first earl of Cornwall; see note to charter no. 12 above.
- (3) Alan Rufus (I).
- (4) Alan Niger (II).
- (5), (6), and (7) William, Robert, and Richard, who witnessed a notification of a grant by their father to the abbey of St. Aubin at Angers.<sup>5</sup>
- (8) Stephen (III).

and illegitimate sons :

- (9) Bodin; see Chapter V, §7.

<sup>1</sup> The chart pedigree on the opposite page indicates the connection between the lords of the honour of Richmond (printed in capital letters) and the ducal house of Brittany.

<sup>2</sup> *Chronicon Britannicum* in Morice, *Histoire de Bretagne, Preuves*, i, col. 4. This reference and several others used for this account have been taken from material prepared for the article on Richmond in the new edition of the *Complete Peerage*, where a fuller account will be given. My thanks are due to the editors of that work for permission to use this material for the present purpose. Considerable use has also been made of the article on Richmond in the original edition.

<sup>3</sup> *Les Chroniques Annaulx* in Morice, *op. cit.*, *Preuves*, i, col. 103.

<sup>4</sup> C. W. David, *Robert Curthose*, p. 222, and the authorities there quoted.

<sup>5</sup> *Cartulaire*, ed. Bertrand de Broussillon, ii, pp. 171 *et seq.*; the other witnesses include count Eudo himself, his wife Orguen, and their sons Geoffrey and Alan. Stephen is not included, which might suggest that he was not then born (the date 1056-60 is assigned for this charter), and therefore that he was the youngest of count Eudo's legitimate sons; but only one of the brothers Alan is included, so that no great reliance can be placed on this argument. On the other hand Stephen was alive in 1135, so that on chronological grounds it is likely that he was the youngest.



- (10) Bardulf; see *ibid.*, §46.
- (11) Ribald; see *ibid.*, §41.
- (12) Ernald, who witnessed a charter of count Alan II.<sup>1</sup>

I. ALAN RUFUS. He commanded the Breton contingent at the battle of Hastings.<sup>2</sup> As count Alan or count Alan Rufus he witnessed several charters of king William I.<sup>3</sup> He was the count Alan of the Domesday survey, holding lands in Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Cambridgeshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Hertfordshire, Nottinghamshire, Hampshire, and Dorset.<sup>4</sup> The mention in the Survey of his castlery in Yorkshire suggests that he was the builder of Richmond castle.<sup>5</sup> He inspired the foundation of the abbey of St. Mary, York.<sup>6</sup> He died unmarried in 1089;<sup>7</sup> and was buried at Bury St. Edmunds.<sup>8</sup>

II. ALAN NIGER. He succeeded his brother in the honour

<sup>1</sup> Charter no. 2.

<sup>2</sup> This point has most recently been discussed by Dom A. Wilmart in his article *Alain le Roux et Alain le Noir in Annales de Bretagne*, tome xxxviii, pp. 576-602 (1929), in which several questions are carefully examined in the light of documentary and other evidence, and new light is thrown on the lives of the two brothers.

<sup>3</sup> Davis, *Regesta*, *passim*. For the significance of the style 'comes' see Appendix C.

<sup>4</sup> The theory put forward in the *Recherches sur le Domesday* in 1842 that 'count Alan' of the Survey represented three different tenants-in-chief will not bear any critical examination; see *V.C.H.*, *N.R.*, i, 1, where an admirable account of the honour of Richmond is given by Miss Mabel Maynard. Cf. also Dom A. Wilmart, *op. cit.* With regard to the last county named above count Alan had only one holding, at Devenis [Dewlish], which had passed to the honour of Gloucester before 1109 (Hutchins, *Dorset*, ii, 195).

<sup>5</sup> That is to say, the earliest portions. Richmond is not mentioned in the Survey. Farrer considered that it was represented by 'Neutone' (*V.C.H. Yorks.*, ii, 157). Miss Maynard (*loc. cit.*, p. 23) gives detailed reasons for identifying it with the two places called 'Hindrelagh' (which Farrer identified as Marske). The editor of the *V.C.H.* did not regard the evidence as decisive for either identification (*V.C.H. Yorks.*, ii, 157; and *N.R.*, i, 23); but in *Place-Names of N.R.*, Eng. Place-Name Soc., p. 287 it is definitely stated that the site of Richmond (which means 'strong hill') was called Hindrelac in the Survey.

<sup>6</sup> King William II, in his confirmation charter to the abbey (*E.Y.C.*, no. 350), refers to him as 'post me et patrem meum hujus abbacie inceptor et institutor.' For the gifts of count Alan Rufus to the abbey see note to charter no. 2.

<sup>7</sup> *Annales de Margan*, p. 4 (*Ann. Monast.*, vol. i, Rolls Ser.). From a list of obits it appears that counts Alan Rufus and Niger were commemorated at St. Mary's on 4 Aug.; 'ii Nonas Augusti obiit Alanus comes Rufus et Alanus comes Niger' (*Chron. of St. Mary's, York*, Surtees Soc., vol. 148, p. 113). It is probable that Alan Rufus as the effective founder was commemorated on the day he died, and that Alan Niger was included on the same day.

<sup>8</sup> Charter no. 11.

of Richmond,<sup>1</sup> and died unmarried in 1093.<sup>2</sup> As count Alan he witnessed a charter of king William II, c. 1091.<sup>3</sup>

III. STEPHEN. He succeeded his eldest brother Geoffrey Boterel, or possibly Geoffrey's son Conan, in Penthievre and Tréguier, and probably Guingamp (of which he was certainly lord), and his brother Alan II in the honour of Richmond.<sup>4</sup> There is evidence that, having been in possession, he temporarily lost the honour or part of it during the reign of William II.<sup>5</sup> In March 1101 he was named as a pledge of king Henry I for the observance of the alliance with Robert, count of Flanders; and witnessed two charters of the king at Windsor in September of the same year.<sup>6</sup> He was at Bury St. Edmunds in 1135;<sup>7</sup> and possibly at York in 1133.<sup>8</sup> He married Hawise, who on insufficient evidence has been described as heiress, and even countess, of Guingamp. With his wife he founded the abbey of Holy Cross, Guingamp, c. 1110;<sup>9</sup> and in 1130 he founded the abbey of Bégard.<sup>10</sup> The precise date of his death, which probably took place in 1135-36, is uncertain.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For convenience the phrase 'the honour of Richmond' is used throughout this volume. It has been stated that the first reference to the term occurs in 1203 (*V.C.H., N.R., i, 1*), and that in the twelfth century what was afterwards the honour of Richmond was called the honour of Brittany (*Complete Peerage*, 1st ed., vi, 346). But the 'honour de Richemunt' is mentioned in 1182 (*Pipe Roll 28 Hen. II, p. 47*). After 1171 accounts were rendered for 'the honour of earl Conan,' without any territorial description. The lists of knights in the various counties entered in the Red Book of the Exchequer indicate that the honour of Brittany and the honour of Richmond were interchangeable terms.

<sup>2</sup> *Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey* (Rolls Ser.), i, 350, where it is stated that he was buried there; notwithstanding the phrase 'constructor nobilis cenobii sancte Marie extra urbem Eborac[i]' this appears to refer to count Alan II. The date given is 'circa istum annum' [1093]; but in a thirteenth-century chronicle of the abbey (Cotton MS. Julius A.1), quoted by Gale (*Reg. Hon. de Richmond*, p. vii), the year is given definitely as 1093.

<sup>3</sup> Davis, *Regesta*, no. 320.

<sup>4</sup> Evidence contained in the charters printed in Chapter I, especially nos. 7, 11, 21 and 33, proves that Stephen was a brother of Alan Rufus and Alan Niger.

<sup>5</sup> See note to charter no. 6.

<sup>6</sup> Farrer, *Itinerary of Henry I* (E.H.R., vol. xxxiv), nos. 20, 26, 28.

<sup>7</sup> Charter no. 11.

<sup>8</sup> Note to charter no. 8.

<sup>9</sup> Morice, *op. cit.*, *Preuves*, i, col. 636.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, col. 562.

<sup>11</sup> There is insufficient evidence for the date 13 April 1137, given in *Complete Peerage*, 1st ed., vi, 344. No direct contemporary evidence is forthcoming, and the later Breton historians make conflicting statements both as regards the date of death and place of burial. The fact that his son Alan witnessed at Winchester as 'Alanus comes Richemundie' a charter of king Stephen for the abbey of Cluny, dated 1136, in the first year of the king's reign [i.e., before 22 Dec. 1136] (Round, *Cal. Docs. France*, no. 1390) strongly suggests that count Stephen was then dead. It is relevant, however, to quote evidence put forward in 1233 that count Stephen gave during his lifetime Penthievre to his eldest son Geoffrey, and the 'comitatus Richemondie' to his second son Alan; this is given in the 'enquête pour Henri d'Avaugour' (pd. in La Borderie, *Nouveau Recueil d'actes inédits des Ducs de Bretagne*, p. 28). So far as Alan is concerned such a gift is unlikely to have

He had issue :

- (1) Geoffrey Boterel II, a count of Brittany and lord of Penthievre. He was an adherent of the empress Maud ; and described as brother of Alan, earl of Richmond (*de Richemunt*), rendered conspicuous service at the siege of Winchester in 1141.<sup>1</sup> In May 1141, as 'comes' Geoffrey Boterel, he witnessed a charter of the empress at Reading.<sup>2</sup> He died in 1148,<sup>3</sup> leaving issue.<sup>4</sup>
- (2) Alan (IV).
- (3) Henry, a count of Brittany and lord of Tréguier and Guingamp. He was born c. 1100.<sup>5</sup> He witnessed a charter of his father at Guingamp in 1123;<sup>6</sup> as 'Henricus comes' a charter of his brother Alan at Quimper in 1145;<sup>7</sup> a charter of earl Conan to the abbey of Coatmalouen in the period 1156-71,<sup>8</sup> and a charter of the same to the abbey of Bégard in the period 1166-71.<sup>9</sup> He occurs, as 'comes Henricus,' in Lincolnshire at Michaelmas 1163.<sup>10</sup> In the accounts of the honour of Richmond at Michaelmas 1183 Ranulf de Glanville accounted for 55*li.* 16*s.* 8*d.* for the farm of Waltham, Lincs., being the land of Alan son of count Henry, for half the year.<sup>11</sup> From this it is evident that Henry died

been made before 1130, as the men of count Stephen are mentioned in Yorkshire in that year (*Pipe Roll* 31 *Hen. I.*, p. 27), and probably not before 1135, when Stephen was himself dealing with land in England (charter no. 11 above). It is possible that the gift took place in the latter year or early in 1136. But the statement of a witness a hundred years later needs corroboration. Alan's presence in England in 1123, when his father and brothers were in Brittany (see charter no. 7) is a likely indication that he was destined to receive the English lands of his father, which, indeed, he may have been administering on his behalf; and it may have been this fact, rather than an actual transfer, which formed the basis of the witness's statement. Unless, therefore, definite evidence is forthcoming that Stephen was alive after the time when his son was described as earl of Richmond in 1136, it is reasonable to suppose that he was then dead, and the date of his death may be taken as 1135-36. From a list of obits it appears that he and his wife were commemorated at St. Mary's on 21 April; 'xi Kal. Maii obiit Stephanus comes Brytanie et Hatwysa uxor ejus' (*Chron. of St. Mary's, York*, Surtees Soc., vol. 148, p. 112). It is probable that this was the actual day of Stephen's death, his wife's name being included with her husband's. Possibly, therefore, 21 April 1135 or 1136 is the correct date of his death.

<sup>1</sup> *John of Hexham* in *Simeon of Durham* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 310.

<sup>2</sup> *Essays in History presented to Reginald Lane Poole*, p. 183. It seems clear that the word 'Com.' in the charter there printed should be extended 'Comite,' and not 'Con[estabulo]' (referring to the previous witness), as suggested by the editor.

<sup>3</sup> *Chronicon Britannicum* in Morice, *op. cit.*, *Preuves*, i, col. 5.

<sup>4</sup> His grandson Geoffrey Boterel III died s.p. shortly after 1204, having ceded Penthievre and his Breton lands to count Alan son of count Henry mentioned below.

<sup>5</sup> This date is approximately fixed by details given in a letter from him to pope Alexander III printed in Morice, *op. cit.*, *Preuves*, i, col. 681.

<sup>6</sup> Charter no. 7.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 25.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 43.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 74.

<sup>10</sup> *Pipe Roll* 9 *Hen. II.*, p. 68.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 29 *Hen. II.*, p. 57.

early in that year. His son Alan succeeded to the Lincolnshire lands, but had been dispossessed by Michaelmas 1191; and in 1192 the sheriff accounted for his land for a full year, the amount being double the sum mentioned above.<sup>1</sup> In 1200 the king granted to Alan Waltham with all the soke, which Stephen, Alan's grandfather, had given to count Henry his son, Alan's father, in the time of king Henry I.<sup>2</sup> In 1202, as Alan son of count Henry, he gave to the abbey of Beauport, Brittany, all his churches of the soke of Waltham and the vill of West Ravendale (where a cell of the abbey became established); in his charter he mentions his wife Parnel (*Petronilla*).<sup>3</sup> Alan eventually acquired all the Breton lands of his grandfather, count Stephen. He died in 1212.<sup>4</sup>

- (4) Maud, who married Walter de Gant. Their son Gilbert de Gant was born c. 1120-23.<sup>5</sup> By reason of this marriage the Gant family held 4 knights' fees of the honour of Richmond in Swaledale, including the parish town of Grinton.<sup>6</sup>
- (5) Tiffany (*Theophania*), who had land in Coleby, Lincs., given to her in frank-marriage by her father, apparently on her marriage with William de Tancarville.<sup>7</sup>
- (6) Olive, who married 1st Henry de Fougères, by whom she had issue Ralph de Fougères; and 2nd William de Sancto Johanne.<sup>8</sup>

IV. ALAN III, a count of Brittany and earl of Richmond. He was in England in 1123.<sup>9</sup> In 1136 he witnessed a charter of the king as 'Alanus comes Richemundie.'<sup>10</sup> In 1139 an unnamed nephew of his was killed at the king's court by the servants of Roger, bishop of Salisbury, and of the bishops of Lincoln and Ely; and Alan urged the king to reprisals.<sup>11</sup> In 1140 he seized the castle of

<sup>1</sup> *Pipe Roll 3 Ric. I*, p. 17; 4 *Ric. I*, p. 244.

<sup>2</sup> *Rot. Chart.*, p. 52a.

<sup>3</sup> *Mon. Ang.*, vi, pp. 1117, 1050.

<sup>4</sup> *Les Chroniques Annaulx* in Morice, *op. cit.*, *Prewes*, i, col. 107. His heir was his son Henry d'Avaugour mentioned above, p. 87n.

<sup>5</sup> *Complete Peerage*, new ed., vii, 672; *E.Y.C.*, ii, 434.

<sup>6</sup> See the charters relating to this fee in Chapter V.

<sup>7</sup> Stapleton, *Rot. Scac. Norm.*, ii, p. cxlii. Cf. *Bk. of Fees*, p. 1044, where it is shown that at a later date the same land was given in frank-marriage with Olive sister of [a later] William the chamberlain of Tancarville.

<sup>8</sup> Round, *Cal. Docs. France*, nos. 847-850. For Ralph de Fougères see note to charter no. 73 above. It is clear that Olive had the manor of Long Bennington, Lincs., in frank-marriage.

<sup>9</sup> Charter no. 7. From the style used in no. 27 it would appear that he was born in Brittany.

<sup>10</sup> See above, p. 87n.

<sup>11</sup> *John of Hexham* (Rolls Ser.), p. 301; see also ed. in *Priory of Hexham* (Surtees Soc.), i, 124n, and the authorities there quoted.



1140. 'Galclint'<sup>1</sup> with its treasure, ejecting William d'Aubigny therefrom; he afterwards built a castle at 'Hotun,' being land belonging to the bishopric of Durham, and ravaged Ripon and the property of the archbishopric of York.<sup>2</sup> In the same year he was granted the county of Cornwall by the king, and probably at Bodmin issued a charter to the priory of St. Michael's Mount.<sup>3</sup> In 1141 he withdrew his forces from the king's army before the battle of Lincoln, and was subsequently captured by the earl of Chester, to whom he surrendered the castle of 'Galclint'; and during his imprisonment he lost the county of Cornwall,<sup>4</sup> which he never recovered. At Christmas 1141 as 'comes Alanus' he witnessed a charter of the king at Canterbury.<sup>5</sup> After Easter 1142 a tournament between him and William, count of Aumale, at York was stopped by the king;<sup>6</sup> and in the following year he insulted the archbishop in the church of Ripon, which he had invaded with an armed force.<sup>7</sup> Such a reference appears to justify the words 'juvenis quidem fuit crudelissimus et praedo'; and their continuation 'vir autem factus fuit pater patrie et ecclesie vigilantissimus amator'<sup>8</sup> is reflected in his benefactions to Jervaulx abbey,<sup>9</sup> and his foundation of the abbey of Coatmalouen in Brittany.<sup>10</sup> He departed for Brittany in 1145,<sup>11</sup> where he died 15 Sept. 1146;<sup>12</sup> and was buried in the abbey of Bégard.<sup>13</sup> He married Bertha daughter of Conan III, duke of Brittany, by Maud illegitimate daughter of king Henry I; she

<sup>1</sup> No castle of this name appears to be recorded. But Professor Stenton has made the valuable suggestion that its name is preserved in the modern Gaultney wood, par. Rushton, Northants., of which a thirteenth-century spelling was Galklynt (*Place-Names of Northants.*, p. 120). This, as he points out, is distinctly probable as Geddington, 3 miles from Rushton, and land in that neighbourhood were in the fee of the earl of Chester; his authority for this being a charter of that earl giving to Pipewell abbey land of his fee of Geddington on which the abbey was built, and confirming the land of Stokes [Stoke Albany, Northants., c. 3 miles from Gaultney wood] which had been given by William d'Aubigny (whose connection with Galclint is recorded above), quitclaiming his own hereditary right therein; and taking the abbey under his protection; the date of the charter being 1148-53 (Stowe MS. 937, f. 7).

<sup>2</sup> *John of Hexham* (Rolls Ser.), p. 306. Walbran (*Memorials of Fountains*, i, 79n) suggested for good reasons that 'Hotun' was Hutton Conyers in the suburb of Ripon, immediately opposite archbishop Thurstan's park.

<sup>3</sup> Charter no. 12, and note thereto.

<sup>4</sup> *John of Hexham* (Rolls Ser.), pp. 307, 308; *Gesta Stephani* (Rolls Ser.), p. 72. The spelling 'Galdint' in the former reference (p. 308), which is printed as 'Galclint' in the Surtees Soc. ed., is clearly a misprint.

<sup>5</sup> Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, p. 143.

<sup>6</sup> *John of Hexham* (Rolls Ser.), p. 312.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 315.

<sup>8</sup> *Chronicon Britannicum* in Morice, *Histoire de Bretagne, Preuves*, i, col. 5. As his younger brother Henry was born c. 1100 (see above) Alan must have been over 43 before his love of the church had any permanent basis; with that modification there is no reason to doubt the truth of the chronicler's description.

<sup>9</sup> See notes to charter no. 23.

<sup>10</sup> Charter no. 43.

<sup>11</sup> See notes to charter no. 23, and the date of no. 25.

<sup>12</sup> The day and month are given in the obituary of the abbey of St. George at Rennes (Du Paz, *Hist. Généalogique de Bretagne*, pt. i, p. 14). The year is given in two chronicles quoted in *Complete Peerage*, 1st ed., vi, 345.

<sup>13</sup> Charters nos. 28 and 48.

was in Brittany with earl Alan in 1145;<sup>1</sup> after Conan III disowned his son Hoel she became heiress of the duchy; she married as her second husband in or before 1148 Eudo, vicomte de Porhoët, who on the death of Conan III in that year was recognized as duke of Brittany *jure uxoris*; she was living in 1162,<sup>2</sup> and died before Aug. 1167.<sup>3</sup>

He had issue :

- (1) Conan (V).
- (2) Constance, who married Alan III, vicomte de Rohan, to whom earl Conan is said to have given the manors of Costessey and Honingham, Norfolk, with the advowson of Honingham, in frank-marriage.<sup>4</sup> She and her husband witnessed a charter of earl Conan to the abbey of Holy Cross, Guingamp, 1160-67.<sup>5</sup>
- (3) Ennoguent, a nun at the abbey of St. Sulpice, Rennes.<sup>6</sup>

and illegitimate<sup>7</sup> sons :

- (4) Robert, (5) Brian, and (6) Reginald, who described as the earl's brothers witnessed the charter of earl Conan to Denny priory.<sup>8</sup> Robert, described as the earl's brother, witnessed charters of earl Conan to Fountains and Kirkstead abbeys.<sup>9</sup> Brian, similarly described, witnessed earl Conan's charter, granting the constabship of Richmond to Alan son of Roald.<sup>10</sup> Brian has been regarded as the ancestor of the family of FitzAlan of Bedale, but it is suggested that this tradition must now be abandoned.<sup>11</sup> He had a son Conan who with his father Brian, the earl's brother, witnessed a charter of William son of Frane de Greenberry.<sup>12</sup> Conan son of Brian son of the earl confirmed to Fountains abbey the gift which Geoffrey Haget his uncle (*avunculus*) made of the vill

<sup>1</sup> Charter no. 25.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 68.

<sup>3</sup> When her second husband had married again (*Robert de Torigni*, *Rolls Ser.*, p. 232). A charter issued by her is printed above, no. 57.

<sup>4</sup> Blomefield, *Norfolk* (ed. 1739), i, 685, quoting a case brought by the king against the abbot of Bon Repos, Brittany, in 1234; the claim was for the advowson of Honingham, and the abbot maintained his possession. The interest acquired by Alan de Rohan by his marriage evidently included other advowsons; for he gave to the abbey of Bon Repos the churches of Costessey, Bawburgh, and Honingham, and a moiety of the church of Barford [Norfolk] and the church of Fulbourn [co. Cambridge], which gift was confirmed by Alan, vicomte de Rohan, his son (*Cal. Ch. Rolls*, 1226-57, p. 59). For the interest of the family of Rohan in Swavesey, co. Cambridge, as well as in Fulbourn, doubtless due to the marriage, see *Feudal Cambridge-shire*, pp. 76, 100.

The manor of Costessey and the church of Honingham had formed part of the dower of countess Bertha, Constance's mother, who died in the period 1162-67 (see note to charter no. 57).

<sup>5</sup> Charter no. 62.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 59.

<sup>7</sup> See note to *ibid.*, no. 27.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 66.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, nos. 45 and 46.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 47.

<sup>11</sup> See Chapter V, §7.

<sup>12</sup> This charter will be printed *ibid.*

of Thorpe Underwood, par. Little Ouseburn.<sup>1</sup> It is probable that he was the Conan son of Brian who held half a knight's fee of the honour in Lincolnshire in 1201,<sup>2</sup> and who had this holding in Leadenham and Fulbeck in 1212.<sup>3</sup>

V. CONAN, duke of Brittany and earl of Richmond. The date of his birth is unknown, but he was certainly under age when his father died.<sup>4</sup> His gift of 20s. rent to the hospital of St. Peter, York, was confirmed by Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, in the period 1150-54.<sup>5</sup> As 'Conanus comes de Richmundia' he witnessed a charter of king Henry II to Bullington priory at Worcester, probably in 1155.<sup>6</sup> In 1156 he received the third penny, apparently of the revenues of the town of Ipswich, amounting to 9*li.* 10s.<sup>7</sup> In September of the same year he crossed from England to Brittany, and besieged and took Rennes, putting to flight his stepfather Eudo; shortly afterwards Eudo was taken prisoner by Ralph de Fougères, and Conan was recognized by the Bretons as duke.<sup>8</sup> He returned to England,<sup>9</sup> and was in Brittany again in 1158.<sup>10</sup> After the death of Geoffrey, brother of king Henry II, in July of that year, he seized Nantes, but was forced to surrender it to the king whom he met at Avranches on 29 Sept.<sup>11</sup> In 1160 Conan married Margaret of Scotland, sister of king Malcolm IV.<sup>12</sup> In 1162 he was in Brittany,<sup>13</sup> and at the end of January 1164 he was present at the Council of Clarendon.<sup>14</sup> This is his last recorded appearance in England. In 1166 in Brittany a betrothal was arranged between his only daughter Constance and Geoffrey son of king Henry II; Conan surrendered the duchy of Brittany to

<sup>1</sup> *Fountains Chartulary*, ii, 719. No explanation of the Haget relationship appears to be available; see *Y.A.J.*, xxx, 288.

<sup>2</sup> *Rot. de Obl.*, p. 163.

<sup>3</sup> *Bk. of Fees*, p. 186.

<sup>4</sup> *E.Y.C.*, no. 185.

<sup>4</sup> Charter no. 28.

<sup>6</sup> Harl. Ch. 43 C. 19, pd. in Stenton, *Danelaw Charters*, no. 1.

<sup>7</sup> *Pipe Roll 2 Hen. II*, p. 8, which speaks of the third penny *camil' (sic)*. But this was not the third penny of the pleas of the county. The evidence of the Domesday survey shows that the third penny of the town of Ipswich and the third penny [of the pleas] of two hundreds had been granted to count Alan (*D.B.*, ii, 294; and cf. Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, p. 290). At Mich. 1172, after earl Conan's death and when the honour was in the king's hand, Ranulf de Glanville rendered account of the third penny of Ipswich (*Pipe Roll 18 Hen. II*, p. 5).

<sup>8</sup> *Robert de Torigni* (Rolls Ser.), p. 190. The month is given in the Chronicle of St. Jacques de Montfort, quoted by Du Paz, *op. cit.*, pt. i, p. 15. Morice, *op. cit.*, i, 102, quoting Le Baud, speaks of a conflict between Conan and Eudo in 1154; but the authority is untrustworthy and the fact improbable.

<sup>9</sup> See note to charter no. 30.

<sup>10</sup> Charters nos. 44-49.

<sup>11</sup> *Robert de Torigni* (Rolls Ser.), pp. 196-7. On 22 Sept. at Rennes Conan issued a charter to the abbey of St. George, Rennes (no. 49).

<sup>12</sup> *Scots Peerage*, i, 4.

<sup>13</sup> Charter no. 69.

<sup>14</sup> Stubbs, *Select Charters*, 9th ed., p. 164; he is described as 'Conanus comes Britannie.'

the king for Geoffrey's use, retaining only the county of Guingamp.<sup>1</sup> On 24 March 1168 he witnessed a royal charter at Angers;<sup>2</sup> and he died in 1171.<sup>3</sup> Towards the end of his life he founded the abbey of St. Maurice, Carnoët.<sup>4</sup>

20 Feb. 1171 /  
p. xxxiv  
above.  
Margaret his widow married before Easter 1175 Humphrey de Bohun as her second husband,<sup>5</sup> by whom she had issue. She had dower of the honour of Richmond in Moulton and Forcett, Yorks;<sup>6</sup> in the wapentake of Kirton, Lincs.; in Wisset, Suffolk; and in Bassingbourn, co. Cambridge.<sup>7</sup> In 1185 she was again a widow, in the king's gift, and aged 40 years.<sup>8</sup> She died in 1201.<sup>9</sup>

VI. CONSTANCE, duchess of Brittany and countess of Richmond, only child of earl Conan. She married (1) in 1181 Geoffrey son of king Henry II, to whom she had long been betrothed (see above); he died in 1186; (2) in Feb. 1187-8 Ranulf, earl of Chester; by him she was kept in prison in the castle of St. James de Beuvron in 1196-97; and c. 1198 she repudiated this marriage on the ground of consanguinity; and (3) in 1199 Guy, younger son of William, vicomte de Thouars, who survived her and died in 1213.

She died in Aug. or Sept. 1201. By her first husband she had issue Arthur, duke of Brittany, who was murdered in 1203; and a daughter Eleanor; and by her third husband two daughters, Alice, wife of Peter de Braine, later duke of Brittany, and Catharine, wife of Andrew de Vitré.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Robert de Torigni* (Rolls Ser.), p. 228. Guingamp had been a possession of Conan's paternal grandfather count Stephen, and afterwards of Conan's uncle count Henry, who was still living in 1166 (see above); at some time between 1156 and 1166 Conan appears to have disseised his uncle.

<sup>2</sup> Delisle and Berger, *Recueil des Actes de Henri II*, i, no. 267; he is again described as 'Conanus comes Britannie.'

<sup>3</sup> *Robert de Torigni* (Rolls Ser.), p. 249. His death evidently took place before Michaelmas (*Pipe Roll 17 Hen. II*, p. 117).

<sup>4</sup> Charter no. 75.

<sup>5</sup> *Pipe Roll 21 Hen. II*, p. 3.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> *Rot. de Dominabus*, pp. 4, 62, 84. At Mich. 1183 Ranulf de Glanville rendered account of 25*li.* 19*s.* 7*d.* for the issues of the land of countess Margaret of the honour of earl Conan, then in the king's hand (*Pipe Roll 29 Hen. II*, p. 58).

<sup>8</sup> *Rot. de Dominabus*, pp. 4, 62. The references show that she continued to be known by the style of countess (i.e., duchess) of Brittany or countess of Richmond.

<sup>9</sup> *Roger de Howden* (Rolls Ser.), iv, 174.

<sup>10</sup> *Complete Peerage*, 1st ed. vi, 346; *V.C.H., N.R.*, i, 3. During the year ending at Michaelmas 1200 the honour of Richmond was in the king's hand (*Pipe Roll 2 John*, p. 87). For the subsequent interest of Ranulf, earl of Chester, in Richmondshire see note to charter no. 86. For his second marriage to Clemence de Fougères see p. 69*n.* For the interest of Peter de Braine in the honour see *V.C.H., N.R.*, i, 4.



## APPENDIX A.

## NOTE ON THE GRANT OF LANDS IN YORKSHIRE TO COUNT ALAN I.

The precise date when count Alan Rufus obtained the lands which were afterwards known as Richmondshire is unknown. The spurious charter of which the terms are given in the illustration forming the frontispiece to Gale's edition of the Registrum,<sup>1</sup> which represents the king delivering the charter to count Alan, who kneels before him, has often been printed :<sup>2</sup>

Ego Willelmus cognomine Bastardus rex Anglie do et concedo tibi nepoti meo Alano Britannie comiti et heredibus tuis imperpetuum omnes villas et terras que nuper fuerunt comitis Edwyni in Eboracshira cum feodis militum et ecclesiis et aliis libertatibus et consuetudinibus ita libere et honorifice sicut idem Edwinus ea tenuit. Datum in obsidione coram civitate Eboraci.

Farrer's observations are as follows :—

Mr. Eyton, the historian of Shropshire, believed this to be a genuine charter. He says, "I submit that there can have been no object in forging a territorial charter, the lands conferred whereby, and the terms expressed wherein, are warranted and verified by Domesday and by the subsequent evidence and fulfilment of fact."<sup>3</sup> This is a bold statement. The king's use of his own notorious soubriquet in a charter is to say the least unusual; the grant by William I of a wide territory *by charter* is also unusual, if not unique; that William should describe count Alan as his *nepos* is curious, but might be explained by the fact that the count was related to the king through his grandmother Hawise, said to be the sister of Richard II, duke of Normandy. The statement that the lands given had lately been earl Edwin's, coupled with the date attached to the gift, namely, at the siege of York which would mean, if there was a siege at all,<sup>4</sup> some time shortly before Christmas 1069, is most unsatisfactory because earl Edwin remained at the king's court in honourable captivity as a hostage until his escape in 1071, and it is unlikely that his lands in Yorkshire would pass out of the king's hands until that event,<sup>5</sup> which was soon followed by the earl's death at the hands of his own people.<sup>6</sup> A still more serious impediment to the acceptance of

<sup>1</sup> From Cotton MS. Faustina B. vii, f. 72d, which is reproduced as the frontispiece to the present volume.

<sup>2</sup> Davis, *Regesta*, no. 27, and the references there given. Davis notes that the document is only valuable as the record of a tradition.

<sup>3</sup> *Staffordshire Domesday*, p. 31.

<sup>4</sup> See *Matthew of Westminster*, s.a. 1069; *Ordericus* (ed. Le Prévost), ii, 195; Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, iv, 775.

<sup>5</sup> Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, iv, 205.

<sup>6</sup> *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, s.a. 1071.

this charter as a genuine deed is the statement that the gift comprised "all the vills<sup>1</sup> and lands which late had been earl Edwin's in Yorkshire." In addition to Gilling, Catterick, Askham Bryan and Northallerton Edwin had Bolton in Wharfedale with many berewicks and an extensive socage, Hooton Pagnell, Kippax with soc in many places in Skyrack wapentake and Laughton-en-le-Morthen with a berewick and soc in seven places. None of these four last-named manors passed to count Alan. We should reasonably expect a royal grant to be precise in respect of the description of the lands granted.<sup>2</sup>

## APPENDIX B.

### THE SEALS OF THE LORDS OF THE HONOUR

No examples of seals used by counts Alan I and II appear to be known. One example of count Stephen's seal is available. This is in the Westminster Abbey muniments, and is attached to the charter issued by count Stephen to Roald son of Harscod (no. 9 above, where it is described; and plate I). Only the central portions remain. It is probably the same seal as is roughly illustrated in Gale, fig. ii;<sup>3</sup> but there is no trace of the fleurs-de-lis which are there shown on the rider's coat and shield.

So far as is known only one original charter of earl Alan has the seal remaining. This is in the Durham Treasury, and is attached to charter no. 17 above. It is fully described in *Durham Seals*, no. 397; and both sides are illustrated there in plate I, and in plate II in the present volume. Both obverse and reverse are equestrian in type. It is far from perfect, and only parts of the legends remain. That on one side is ✠ S' [ALANI COMITIS A] NGLIE ET BRITANNE; the missing letters being probably those given in brackets. That on the other appears to be ✠ ALANI . VERAMVCI.....; and no explanation of the second word is available.

The two most complete examples of the seal ordinarily used by earl Conan are those in the British Museum (charter no. 46 above) and in the Durham Treasury (no. 34). It is of equestrian type, obverse and reverse; and is fully described in *B.M. Cat. of Seals*, no. 5759, and in *Durham Seals*, no. 398, where it is illustrated in plate I. The two sides are illustrated in plates VII and IX in the present volume. On one side the horse is galloping, and the rider

<sup>1</sup> Altered in MS. to "towns."

<sup>2</sup> MS. for E.Y.C.; the references are Farrer's. His observations continue with a discussion on another matter which is dealt with in the notes to charter no. 1, printed above. Another objection to the authenticity of the Conqueror's charter, mentioned in *Third Report on the Dignity of a Peer*, p. 105, is the occurrence of the phrase 'knights' fees', as held by Edwin.

<sup>3</sup> Gale reproduced this from a pen and ink drawing in Cotton MS. Julius C. vii, f. 137d; but no charter is given in that manuscript as a reference for the seal.

holds a lance with pennon in his right hand, with his shield in front of him; on the other the horse is walking, and the rider holds a sword in his right hand to the rear, the inner part of the shield in his left hand being visible. A combination of the legends which remain on these two examples (and on the fragment mentioned below) gives respectively ✠ SIGILLVM CONANI DV[CIS B]RITANNIE (the letter S of *Sigillum* being reversed), and ✠ SIGILLVM C[ONANI COMITI]S RICHEMVNDIE. Two other examples of the same seal are those in the Westminster Abbey muniments (no. 47 above),<sup>1</sup> and—almost certainly the same—at Burghley (no. 58). The latter, showing the side on which the rider carries a sword, is illustrated in *Facsimiles of Early Charters* (Northants. Rec. Soc.), plate V. The fragment attached to another charter in the British Museum (no. 55 above; *B.M. Cat. of Seals*, no. 5757) is certainly of the same seal, and the illustration (plate XI) shows the side on which the horse is galloping with the remains of part of the legend [CON]ANI. Another fragmentary example in the British Museum (no. 35 above; *B.M. Cat. of Seals*, no. 5758) is also of the same; and the illustration (plate VIII) shows the side on which the horse is walking, and indicates the diaper work on the inside of the shield more clearly.

One point about these seals deserves comment. It is reasonable to suppose that the true obverse was that which bore the ducal style in the legend—that is, the side showing the galloping horse. It is impossible to tell from the frayed nature of the silk attachment in the first example mentioned above (i.e., the seal attached to no. 46) which side was placed uppermost; and with regard to the second example (no. 34) there is at least an element of doubt, as the cords appear to have been twisted.<sup>2</sup> It is clear, however, that the side with the ducal style was affixed as the *reverse* to the Burghley charter (no. 58); there is no doubt about this as a tag was used for attachment. The same appears to apply in the case of the seal affixed to a tongue of the parchment in charter no. 35. On the other hand the side with the ducal style and galloping horse was certainly affixed as the *obverse* to the Westminster abbey charter (no. 47). The combined evidence suggests that no particular care was taken as to which of the two sides was placed uppermost when the sealing took place.

Both sides of this seal are illustrated in Gale, fig. iii.<sup>3</sup> But in fig. iv there is illustrated one side of another seal of earl Conan, taken from Lobineau (*Hist. de Bretagne*, no. 74). This differs in several respects from the corresponding side of the seal described above. The rider carries a lance at rest, instead of a sword, and

<sup>1</sup> This has excellent impressions of the central portion on either side, showing the great depth of the relief; but unfortunately very little of the lettering remains. One side is illustrated in plate X above.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. K. C. Bayley has kindly examined the charter and considers it more likely that the galloping horse is on the lower side, as described in *Durham Seals*.

<sup>3</sup> The illustration, giving full lettering, is taken from the seal attached to a Harley charter, which can be identified as no. 46 above.

the legend is ✠ SIGILVM [C]ONA[NI.....] COMITIS [RICHE]MONTIS. It is difficult to suppose that this does not give adequate evidence for another seal used by earl Conan; but unfortunately Lobineau does not give a reference to any charter to which it was affixed.

An impression of the seal of duchess Constance is attached to her letter to the bishop of London (no. 83 above). It is described in *B.M. Cat. of Seals*, no. 6594 and is illustrated here in plate XV. It is a pointed oval, a shape well suited to the standing figures of ladies and ecclesiastics. There is a more complete legend in the example of the same seal given in G. Demay, *Sceaux de la Normandie*, p. 5, no. 29: ✠ CONSTANCIA DVCISS[A BRITANNIE COM]ITISSA RICH[EMVN]DIE; the letters N in Constancia being reversed.

The seal of her first husband Geoffrey is described in *B.M. Cat. of Seals*, no. 6318. This is the seal attached to charter no. 80 above. Comparing the legends with those on his seal described in G. Demay, *op. cit.*, p. 5, no. 28, that on the obverse is ✠ GAVFRIDVS HENRICI REGIS FILIVS DVX BRI[TAN]NIE, and that on the reverse is ✠ GAVFRIDVS HENRICI REGIS FILIVS COMES RICHEMVNDIE. The obverse is illustrated here in plate XIV, and the reverse in Demay, *op. cit.*, plate I.

## APPENDIX C.

### NOTES ON THE DESCRIPTIVE STYLES OF THE LORDS OF THE HONOUR

The following observations are made with a view to provide material for the consideration of a complex question, and not to offer a definite verdict, for which an examination of evidence drawn from a wider field is clearly necessary.

There is no trustworthy evidence that count Alan I was ever described with a territorial addition to his name. It has been supposed that he was styled 'comes Orientalium Anglorum' in a charter of king William I to the abbey of Bury St. Edmunds.<sup>1</sup> But Professor Douglas has recently shown that the last two words are certainly a late and unauthorised addition, for they do not appear in the early versions of the document, where Alan witnesses as 'ego Alanus comes' simply.<sup>2</sup>

When witnessing other charters of king William I he occurs as 'Alanus comes,' 'comes Alanus,' 'Alanus Rufus,' or 'comes Alanus Rufus,' with no territorial addition.<sup>3</sup> A charter of the king was addressed to 'Alanus comes';<sup>4</sup> the king spoke of his gift to him in the same style;<sup>5</sup> he appears to have described himself in the only charters of his of which there is a record as 'comes Alanus Rufus';<sup>6</sup> and he is described in the Domesday survey as

<sup>1</sup> *Mon. Ang.*, iii, 141.

<sup>2</sup> D. C. Douglas, *Feudal Documents from the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds*, pp. cxlii and 54; the date of the charter is 1081.

<sup>3</sup> Davis, *Regesta, passim*. An exception is 'Alanus comes Britannie' in no. 281, which however is regarded as spurious.

<sup>4</sup> *Whitby Chartulary*, ii, 495.

<sup>5</sup> Charter no. 101 below.

<sup>6</sup> No. 1 above.



'Alanus comes.' What, then, was the significance of this style of 'comes'?

1. It must be borne in mind that the conquerors of England  
 2. spoke French and wrote Latin. In these languages the words  
 3. *conte* and *comes* designated both an English earl<sup>1</sup> and a Continental count, and it is far from clear to what extent they drew a distinction which was not readily expressed in the language they used. The available evidence, however, indicates that the style 'comes' was applied to three categories of persons between whom modern analysis might wish to differentiate, namely, the holder of an English earldom, the holder of a Continental *comté* such as that of Mortain in Normandy or of Boulogne, and a person who, though not holding a territorial *comté*, was so styled owing to his membership of an important Continental family. It is suggested that it was in the last sense that Alan I and his brothers Alan II and Stephen, younger sons of count Eudo of Brittany, bore the descriptive style of 'comes.'

In the case of English earls in the Conqueror's reign, such as Hugh, earl of Chester, the description might take the simple form of 'Hugo comes'<sup>2</sup> as well as that of 'Hugo comes Cestrie'.<sup>3</sup> But, following the view of Round, speaking of the earls in the reign of Stephen, "while comital rank was at this period so far a personal dignity that men spoke of earl Hugh, earl Gilbert, or earl Geoffrey, yet.....an earl without a county was a conception that had not yet entered into the minds of men."<sup>4</sup> And there is no evidence that Alan I and his brothers Alan II and Stephen possessed an English earldom. Their comital rank, it is suggested, was due to their birth as members of the Penthièvre branch of the ducal house of Brittany.<sup>5</sup> In this connection it is relevant to quote the somewhat parallel case of the sons of the Conqueror. Robert 'comes filius regis' and William 'comes filius regis' witnessed a charter of king William I and queen Maud to Holy Trinity, Caen.<sup>6</sup> Even more appropriate is the evidence provided by the descriptive styles of count Stephen's three sons. The eldest son, who had practically no territorial interests (if any) in England, appears in an English charter of the Empress as 'comes' Geoffrey Boterel,<sup>7</sup> and in his father's lifetime witnessed a Breton charter as Geoffrey 'comes'.<sup>8</sup> Alan, earl of Richmond, the second son, as will be seen below, was a 'comes Britannie.' And Henry, the youngest son,

<sup>1</sup> The Latin *comes* is still used for an earl, e.g., in the Journals of the House of Lords. The wife of an earl is a *comitissa* or countess.

<sup>2</sup> Davis, *Regesta*, p. 124, no. xxi.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 128, no. xxxvii; cf. p. 122, no. xv, and p. 132, no. li.

<sup>4</sup> *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, p. 273; and cf. *ibid.*, pp. 320, 321.

<sup>5</sup> Their father count Eudo was actually in a more important position than that of a younger son, for the arrangement made between him and his elder brother was in the nature of partition rather than of subinfeudation; see p. 85 above.

<sup>6</sup> Davis, *Regesta*, p. 122, no. xv; Henry their brother merely witnessed as 'Henricus filius regis.' The practice was not uniform as is shown by other charters given by Davis, e.g., nos. xxi, xxxii.

<sup>7</sup> See p. 88 above.

<sup>8</sup> Charter no. 7.

whose interest in England was comparatively small, is described as 'comes Henricus' in the Pipe Rolls.<sup>1</sup>

The comital rank of count Alan Rufus and his immediate successors, thus due to their birth, may well have been reinforced by the size and importance of their tenancies-in-chief in placing them on the same social level as the possessors of an English earldom. Such a level is illustrated in the list of witnesses to a decision of the Conqueror in a plea relating to the abbey of Holy Trinity, Fécamp, probably made in 1086.<sup>2</sup> After the king's sons, the archbishops and the bishops, come the 'comites,' then the 'barones' (of whom there are no less than eighteen), abbots, monks and others. The 'comites' are three in number: 'Robertus de Moritonio, Alanus Ruffus, Rogerus de Montegomerico.' The first of these three was Robert, a 'comes' by reason of his tenure of the *comté* of Mortain in Normandy; the second was count Alan Rufus; and the third held the English earldom of Shrewsbury (or more correctly Shropshire). All were important tenants-in-chief. They represent precisely the three different interpretations of the word 'comes,' to which reference has been made above.

It is unnecessary to add any special observations with regard to the style used by count Alan II, who described himself in his own charters as 'Alanus comes,'<sup>3</sup> and who witnessed a royal charter as 'comes Alanus.'<sup>4</sup>

Count Stephen was never styled earl of Richmond. In royal instruments he was styled 'Stephanus comes Britannie,'<sup>5</sup> and on the Pipe Roll 'comes Stephanus Britannie.'<sup>6</sup> In his own charters he described himself as either 'comes Stephanus' or, more usually and always in his later charters, 'Stephanus comes Britannie';<sup>7</sup> and he sealed a Breton charter as 'Stephanus comes.'<sup>8</sup> In two cases<sup>9</sup> he used the 'Dei gracia' formula. The phrase 'comes Britannie' must be taken as signifying 'a count of Brittany' (or in other words 'a Breton count'), of whom there might be several among the younger members of the ducal family, and not 'count of Brittany', which would give an obviously incorrect idea of count Stephen's position in the duchy. The use of some qualifying addition to the simple 'comes Stephanus' may have been necessary in his case as a means of distinguishing him from two other counts Stephen who were his contemporaries—Stephen, count of Mortain (afterwards king Stephen), and Stephen, count of Aumale, who

<sup>1</sup> See p. 88 above. Although he was not described as 'comes' in charter no. 7 the subsequent evidence of his comital status, recognized in England, is conclusive.

<sup>2</sup> Davis, *Regesta*, p. 127, no. xxxii.

<sup>3</sup> Charters nos. 2, 3.

<sup>4</sup> Davis, *Regesta*, no. 320.

<sup>5</sup> References given on p. 87*n*.

<sup>6</sup> *Pipe Roll 31 Hen. I*, p. 27; he is also described without his Christian name as 'comes Britannie' on p. 28.

<sup>7</sup> 'comes Britannorum' in charter no. 6 may be an error for 'Britannie.'

<sup>8</sup> Charter no. 7.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, nos. 6, 8. His son, earl Alan, used it twice (nos. 12, 25).

had important possessions in Holderness.<sup>1</sup> His territorial interests in Brittany, which counts Alan I and II had never held,<sup>2</sup> and perhaps the more important fact that he was a Breton count by birth, would make the choice of the name Brittany appropriate as a distinctive addition. The style 'comes Richemundie' would have suggested an English earldom which he did not possess.

Alan III may be regarded as the first lord of the honour who was known by the title of earl of Richmond, though there appears to be no record of any formal creation. In 1136 he was described as 'comes Richemundie' in a charter of king Stephen,<sup>3</sup> and he used the style twice in his own charters—in one as 'comes Britannie et Cornubie et Richemuntis', and in the other as 'comes Britannie et Richemont[is]'.<sup>4</sup> Apart from these two cases the style which he ordinarily used, occurring in ten charters, was 'comes Britannie et Anglie' or 'Anglie et Britannie'; and in his last charter this was varied to 'comes Anglie et indigena comesque Britanie.' In three charters he styled himself merely 'comes Britannie.' The legend on one side of his seal was evidently intended to give the style 'comes Anglie et Britannie.' In 1141 he witnessed a royal charter as 'comes Alanus';<sup>5</sup> and a writ of king Stephen was addressed to him so described.<sup>6</sup>

The translation of the phrase 'comes Britannie et Anglie' would appear to be 'a count of Brittany and an earl of England.' The first part of the phrase reproduces his father's style. Actually he himself possessed no part of his father's lands in Brittany; and his interest there was mainly due to his wife who eventually became heiress of the duchy. But, as in his father's case, his comital status was due to his birth. The second part of the phrase—'comes Anglie'—evidently represented his position as an English earl,<sup>7</sup> holding an English earldom which was becoming to be known as that of Richmond, but which was as yet only rarely mentioned by that name.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See the observations of Round on this point of a distinctive addition in *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, p. 144, where he gives similar examples, two being in the nature of surnames—Ferrers and Warenne.

<sup>2</sup> The two brothers were themselves differentiated as Rufus and Niger. They were the relatives and contemporaries of a third Breton of the same name—Alan Fergant, duke of Brittany.

<sup>3</sup> *Cal. Docs. France*, no. 1390.

<sup>4</sup> Charter nos. 12, 15. It was only during the period 1140-41 that he held the earldom of Cornwall.

<sup>5</sup> Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, p. 143.

<sup>6</sup> *Bridlington Chartulary*, p. 212; this will be printed in Chapter V, §32.

<sup>7</sup> It is an interesting parallel, or rather precedent, to note that Arnulf de Montgomery in a charter of date 1096-1100 to the abbey of St. Mary, la Sauve Majeure, in Aquitaine, described himself as son of Roger de Montgomery 'comitis Anglie' (*Cal. Docs. France*, no. 1235). Roger, then dead, had been earl of Shrewsbury (or Shropshire).

<sup>8</sup> It may be noted that the 'county' of Richmond, in the form of 'Richemunschire,' occurs in a charter of earl Alan, no. 19 above. Its position as a territorial unit distinct from Yorkshire may have been sufficient to comply with the prevailing idea that an earl without a county was then an impossible conception (see p. 98 above; and F. M. Stenton, *William the Conqueror*, p. 324). 'Massahamschire' also occurs in the charter quoted,



This was duly recognized in the time of his successor. In every charter of earl Conan of which the full text is available he styled himself 'dux Britannie et comes Richemundie.' These were all issued after he became duke of Brittany in 1156. Previously to that year, probably in 1155, he witnessed a charter of king Henry II as 'Conanus comes de Richmundia',<sup>1</sup> and in a charter to Kirkstead abbey the king, c. 1155, referred to land of the gift of 'comes Conanus de Richemund'.<sup>2</sup> In a royal writ addressed to him not later than the early part of 1158 his description is apparently the same.<sup>3</sup> In another writ of uncertain date, addressed to him by king Henry II he is described simply as 'comes Conanus'.<sup>4</sup> In 1164, being present at the Council of Clarendon, his style is given as 'Conanus comes Britannie,' and in 1168 he witnessed a royal charter at Angers with the same description.<sup>5</sup> These two last references show that both while he was *de facto* ruler of the duchy and after his surrender in 1166 his style could be officially described as the same; and the former suggests that the ducal title was not recognized in the English chancery,<sup>6</sup> the word 'comes' being used as its equivalent. It might be supposed that he was normally styled in official documents 'comes Richemundie' *before*, and 'comes Britannie' *after* his acquisition of the duchy in 1156; but it is doubtful whether any uniformity of practice was observed.

Some notes on the styles used by duchess Constance and her husbands are given in the section of the preceding chapter in which their charters are examined.

## APPENDIX D.

### REFERENCES TO THE HONORIAL BARONAGE AND THE OFFICIALS OF THE HONOUR

Evidence which illustrates the designation of the chief tenants of the honour as 'barons,' and various references to the but probably in a corrupt portion of it; and in any case Masham was a subordinate unit as a member of the honour of Richmond.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 92 above.

<sup>2</sup> Harl. Ch. 43 C. 17, pd. in Stenton, *Danelaw Charters*, no. 156.

<sup>3</sup> Westminster Abbey Muniments, xl, i. This will be printed in Chapter V, introduction to §2.

<sup>4</sup> See note to charter no. 30A. There are several other examples of this simple description.

<sup>5</sup> See pp. 92, 93 above.

<sup>6</sup> Evidence suggests that this was also true of the contemporary French chancery. Even the dukes of Brittany themselves varied the style to that of 'comes', when no territorial description was being included. Thus in two charters issued in Brittany by Alan [earl of Richmond] one was witnessed by 'Conanus dux', and the other by 'comes Conanus'—the witness being Conan III, duke of Brittany (nos. 25, 26) and in a charter of duke Conan IV to the abbey of Savigny he refers to the charter of his grandfather 'count Conan,' i.e., duke Conan III (no. 68). In a Breton charter, which is, however, probably spurious, he mentions the military service due to the count (no. 78).



officials<sup>1</sup> are to be found in the formulas of address used by the lords of the honour in their charters, in incidental clauses, and in the lists of witnesses.

No evidence bearing on these points can be found in the charters of counts Alan I and II, except that the steward<sup>2</sup> and the chamberlain witnessed charters of count Alan I (no. 1), and the chamberlain witnessed a charter of count Alan II (no. 2).

In some of count Stephen's charters there is no specific address (nos. 4, 6, 8). In another, which is in the form of a writ, the address is to his men of Holland (no. 11A). Another is addressed to the king, the archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls and barons of all England, and to the count's three sons and all his men, French and English (no. 11). But in two others the count's own barons are mentioned. In one the address is to all his barons and men of England, French and English (no. 9); and in another to the bishop of Norwich, etc., and to all the count's barons, French and English, and all the men of Suffolk and Norfolk (no. 10). In a Breton charter the count's barons, evidently his barons in Brittany, form a group of the witnesses (no. 7). References to the officials of the honour in count Stephen's charters are few. In only two charters do they occur as witnesses with their official descriptions; in one, the steward and the chamberlain (no. 4); and in another, the steward, the chamberlain and the butler (no. 9). But one charter records a gift of land to the constable (no. 9).

References to count Stephen's officials may also be found in two charters printed by Farrer. In one, which is a gift by Osbern de Arches to St. Mary's, York, 1100-c.1116, Wimar the steward, Odo the chamberlain and Alan the butler occur with other tenants of the honour in the list of witnesses;<sup>3</sup> and another, a charter of the archbishop of York, 1108-14, is witnessed by these men of count Stephen, namely, Hermer, Bernard, sheriff of Richmond, and Piscis his nephew.<sup>4</sup> It may also be noted that king William II addressed a precept to the steward and the chamberlain at a time when count Stephen had apparently lost possession of the honour for a while;<sup>5</sup> and that king Henry I issued instructions to the steward during the count's absence.<sup>6</sup>

Earl Alan III's charters give more comprehensive information. In one of them there is a restricted form of address to Cornishmen (no. 12); another is addressed merely to his men and friends, clerk and lay (no. 15); and another to specified officials and all his men of England, French and English (no. 13). But in no less than eleven charters his barons are expressly mentioned. The usual phrase in the address is his barons (and men), French

<sup>1</sup> See F. M. Stenton, *First Century of English Feudalism*, especially Chapters II and III—a work which has suggested the preparation of this appendix.

<sup>2</sup> The word usually employed was 'dapifer'; but it was the equivalent of 'senescallus'; cf. charters nos. 18, 19.

<sup>3</sup> *E.Y.C.*, no. 527.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 25. This seems to be the only reference to Bernard as sheriff of Richmond.

<sup>5</sup> See note to charter no. 6.

<sup>6</sup> See p. 80 above.

and English; sometimes his barons (and men) of England, French and English (nos. 14, 23); in one case his barons and men are described as French, Breton and English (no. 24); and in another the address specifies all the barons of Richmondshire (no. 19). Prospective gifts of the earl's barons or men are mentioned in his second Jervaulx charter (no. 24). Further, in nine charters the address is particularly directed to one or more of the officials in addition to the general category of barons or men. In three charters these are the steward, the constable and the chamberlain, in one of which the chamberlain precedes the constable (nos. 13, 17, 18); in two charters they are the steward and the constable (nos. 20, 24), in one of which the constable is specified as of Richmond (no. 24); in another the steward, the constable and the justice (no. 16); in another the steward and the sheriff (no. 21); in another the steward and the chamberlain (no. 26); and in another the steward alone (no. 22). In one charter, issued in Brittany, the earl expresses the wish that its terms should be made known to his constable and steward (no. 27). It will be noticed that in all these cases the steward is mentioned, and that where another official is mentioned, except in the last example, the steward takes first place. Several of the officials occur as witnesses; the steward, the butler and the chamberlain (no. 19); the steward and the constable (no. 18); the same two in reverse order (no. 15); the constable and the butler (no. 21); the chamberlain and the sheriff (no. 20); the steward alone (no. 16); and the constable alone (nos. 12, 17). In one of these last cases the constable, who was certainly the constable of Richmond, was with the earl at Bodmin.

References to the honorial baronage are frequently made in earl Conan's charters. The barons are mentioned in a comparatively small proportion of his formulas of address; but they are included in those of eight charters of which the full texts are available (nos. 30A, 47, 50, 52, 54, 55, 65, 73). All these charters deal with lands in England. In one charter there is a mention of whatever the earl's barons, vavassors, knights and drengs<sup>1</sup> had given to St. Mary's, York (no. 33); in another, there is reference to an agreement made before the earl and his barons in his castle of Richmond (no. 45); in a third, the earl confirmed the gifts which Roger de Aske and his other barons and men had made to Marrick priory, and his barons and men were ordered to maintain the nuns in their possessions (no. 53); in a fourth, the feudal tenant whose hereditary holding of two knights' fees was restored to him was to hold it as any other of the earl's barons held his fee (no. 55); in a fifth, the phrase used by the earl's father describing prospective gifts of his barons or men to Jervaulx abbey is repeated (no. 67); and countess Bertha, in her Costessey charter, mentions land which had been deraigned in the court of duke Conan her son at Costessey in the presence of his barons (no. 57). The second and last of these

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of the word 'vavassor,' and its various uses as a descriptive term both in England and on the Continent see Stenton, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-23; and for the word 'dreng' see *ibid.*, p. 146.

examples illustrate the points on which Professor Stenton has laid stress that the honorial baron was his lord's counsellor and attended the honorial court.<sup>1</sup> The Breton charters give references to the baronage in Brittany. The barons of Brittany are sometimes included in the formulas of address (e.g., nos. 58, 59); and in one charter the duke, with the counsel of his barons and the assent of his mother, confirmed lands to a religious house (no. 44). But from most points of view no useful parallel can be drawn between the Breton baronage and earl Conan's barons of his English honour. In Brittany feudalism, imperfectly developed, had never destroyed the Celtic basis of society, and the ties which bound many of the Breton feudatories to the duke were far less definitely feudal than those which in Normandy and England prevailed between tenant and lord throughout the various ranges of society.<sup>2</sup>

Frequent references to the officials of the honour are also made in earl Conan's charters. In several the word 'ministri,' with or without specified officials, is used as a generic term<sup>3</sup>—a term not apparently used by his father; and in three cases the bailiffs are included in the formula of address (nos. 53, 66, 73). In the last of these the officials are collectively described as sheriffs, reeves, justices, ministers and bailiffs. Of specified officials the steward, the constable and the chamberlain are addressed in four charters (nos. 40, 53, 65, 72);<sup>4</sup> the steward and the chamberlain in eight (nos. 30, 30A, 34, 35, 47, 50, 52, 55); and the steward, the constable and the sheriff in one (no. 42). The formulas of address vary considerably; and though there is an ecclesiastical flavour in many of them in the case of charters issued to religious houses, and the lay element is correspondingly subordinate, no uniform system can be detected.<sup>5</sup> The following examples are of addresses which are unusually comprehensive :—

To all sons of Holy Mother Church, and his steward, his chamberlain, all his ministers and men, French and English, and all Bretons, and all his well-wishers (no. 35).

To his steward and chamberlain, and all his barons, ministers, men and friends, French and English and Breton (no. 47).

To his steward and chamberlain, and all his ministers, barons, men and friends, French and English, clerk and lay, of all England (no. 55).

To all sons of Holy Church and all his barons, sheriffs, reeves, justices, ministers and bailiffs, and all his faithful men, French and English, of all England (no. 73).

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 92, 93.

<sup>2</sup> On the differences between Breton and Norman feudalism see *ibid.*, pp. 26-28.

<sup>3</sup> A good example showing this is in no. 53: 'precipio vos omnes ministros meos'; the address specified the steward, constable, chamberlain and all the bailiffs. In no. 42 the address is to the steward, constable and sheriff and other ministers.

<sup>4</sup> And probably in a fifth (no. 54).

<sup>5</sup> Thus the formulas of address in nos. 34, 53, 54, 56A do not indicate that the charters were being issued to religious houses.



Various officials occur as witnesses to the charters. In one charter there are no less than five—the chamberlain, the chancellor, the lardiner, the sheriff and the marshal (no. 33); in another the chamberlain, the dispenser and the usher (no. 47); in another the constable, the butler and the chamberlain (no. 55); in another the lardiner, the constable and the chamberlain (no. 56).<sup>1</sup> But usually no more than two witnessed a particular charter in their official capacities. It is curious that to none of earl Conan's English charters does the steward of the honour occur as a witness. In the Breton charters there is evidence of local stewards, as the steward of Rennes (no. 51; and *cf.* nos. 44, 58, 64); and in one of them there is reference to the duke's hereditary moneyer (no. 44). In an English charter issued at Richmond two witnesses occur with the description of chamberlain (no. 55). This at first sight suggests the existence of a double chamberlainship such as that which formed a feature of the household organization of the earldom of Chester in the thirteenth century, traces of which occur there as early as the second quarter of the twelfth.<sup>2</sup> But, although the charter in question is an original document, it is not impossible that the first 'camerarius' is a scribal error for 'capellanus.'

With regard to the duties allotted to the officials very little light is thrown by the charters. In one of earl Alan's there is an allusion to the steward who was to do protective right to the burgesses of Richmond on the lord's behalf (no. 21); in one of earl Conan's to the bailiffs and their duties in connection with the lord's courts (no. 31); and in another to the making of bounds by the sheriff for a gift of land to Fountains abbey (no. 56). But, taking the charters as a whole, the conclusion is suggested that the steward, the constable and the chamberlain were the three most important officers in the honorial organization. And, if the amount of knight service is any criterion, it may be noted that in the earliest returns available the three leading tenants (apart from the service of fifteen knights due from Ralph son of Ribald, whose father Ribald was a brother of count Alan) were the steward, fifteen knights, the constable, thirteen knights, and the chamberlain, eleven knights.<sup>3</sup>

Of these three the steward, as Professor Stenton has shown from wider evidence, although he might be occupied with household duties, was the central figure of the household and the chief executive and administrative officer within the honour.<sup>4</sup> The duties of the constable were primarily military, and those of the chamberlain primarily domestic. The original function of the constable was to command the knights of his lord's household, but from early times he was associated with garrison duties and

<sup>1</sup> In this case, however, the constable may be so described in error.

<sup>2</sup> Tait, *Charterulary of Chester Abbey* (Chetham Soc.), i, p. xlv.

<sup>3</sup> *Cal. Inq. Misc.*, i, no. 519. These returns will be examined in detail in Chapter IV. Actually, during the twelfth century, the steward's fee was broken up into portions, and the constable's fee was held in moieties; but the amounts of service given above evidently record the original assessments.

<sup>4</sup> Stenton, *op. cit.*, pp. 73-78.



was in charge of the principal castle of the honour.<sup>1</sup> In the case of the honour of Richmond, when it is seen that the constable was in attendance on earl Alan at Bodmin (no. 12), and was often with earl Conan in Brittany, witnessing several charters there (e.g., nos. 50, 52, 65, 75), his garrison duties at Richmond castle can scarcely be regarded as the most important side of his activities, and they may have been performed by deputy.

With regard to the baronial sheriff the general evidence is that he belongs to an early phase of English feudalism, and tends to disappear soon after the close of the first half of the twelfth century.<sup>2</sup> But, as noted above, he was an active officer under earl Conan in the period 1159-71, and the evidence given below suggests that the office of sheriff of Richmondshire as an official of the honour was recognized in the thirteenth century.<sup>3</sup> He was evidently not an official of the first rank, and the formula of address in one charter (no. 73) suggests that there was more than one sheriff in the honour. The isolated references to the justices in the same address, and to the justice in one of earl Alan's charters (no. 16), are insufficient to suggest any conclusion as to their position or duties.<sup>4</sup>

The occurrence of a chancellor introduces a point of special interest. It is extremely rare to find instances of a chancellor among the officials of English tenants-in-chief in the twelfth century. In the case of the palatine earldom of Chester, although there is an isolated reference to Geoffrey, chancellor of earl Ranulf I, in a charter of the period 1120-23, there is no evidence of a chancellor among the officers of earl Ranulf II (1129-53).<sup>5</sup> In the palatinate of Durham the office of chancellor does not come prominently into view before the middle of the thirteenth century; even in the time of bishop du Puiset (1153-95), who endeavoured to develop the palatine institutions on the royal model, there is no trace of a palatine chancellor.<sup>6</sup> The occurrence of Engelram, chancellor of the earl, as a witness to a charter of Henry, earl of Northumberland (1139-52) to Brinkburn priory,<sup>7</sup> may probably be explained by the fact that the earl was son of the king of Scotland. When, therefore, we find a chancellor among the officials of earl Conan it is not unreasonable to conclude that the office was due to his tenure of the duchy of Brittany and not to that of the earldom of Richmond. Two names of chancellors occur:

<sup>1</sup> Stenton, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 66.

<sup>3</sup> A reference to official duties performed by the sheriff of Richmond in the lord's court in the period 1174-81 is given in charter no. 93 below.

<sup>4</sup> See Stenton, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-68, where he shows that the baronial justices in general were minor executive officers with financial and judicial duties.

<sup>5</sup> Tait, *Chartulary of Chester Abbey* (Chetham Soc.), p. xlvii, giving the reference for Geoffrey, chancellor of earl Ranulf, from Farrer, *Itinerary of Henry I* (E.H.R., vol. xxxiv), no. 494. Professor Tait, referring to the twelfth century, observes that "the chancery or secretarial arrangements of the palatine earldom..... are less pretentious than might have been expected in so important a regality as that of Chester."

<sup>6</sup> G. T. Lapsley, *County Palatine of Durham*, pp. 94, 95.

<sup>7</sup> *Brinkburn Chartulary* (Surtees Soc.), no. 174.

Hamelin, and his successor Robert de Guingamp. There is no evidence that either possessed any land in England. The former evidently accompanied the duke on his return to England after the successful expedition to Brittany in 1156, for he witnessed a charter at York (no. 33), and was apparently in attendance at Cheshunt (no. 35); he was at Rennes in 1158, where one charter was dated by the hand of Hamelin the chancellor, and another witnessed by him (nos. 44, 49). Little is known of the circumstances of earl Conan after he surrendered the duchy in 1166, or of his household arrangements at Guingamp. But it seems unsafe to suppose that he did not retain his chancellor, or that the name of the chancellor among the witnesses to a charter must necessarily prove that the date was not later than the year of the surrender.

Of the two charters of duke Geoffrey one is addressed to a/186 his steward, constable and chamberlain and all his ministers and men, French and English (no. 80);<sup>1</sup> and the other to the same, with the addition of his barons and knights (no. 81). The Yorkshire charter of duchess Constance is addressed to her steward and men (no. 82); and the early thirteenth-century charter of Ranulf, earl of Chester, mentions his bailiffs and serjeants of Richmondshire (no. 86).

Although the thirteenth century is outside the scope of this inquiry additional details relating to the officials of the honour may be noted in three inquisitions of the early or middle part of that period. In one it was returned that the steward, the butler and the chamberlain in fee had been enfeoffed of their lands before receiving their serjeanties, and were holding their lands by knight service; and the lord was holding the forest of Wensleydale in his own hand, of which one of the principal tenants (named) ought to be forester in fee.<sup>2</sup> In the second a similar statement applied to the forestership; details are given relating to the office of constable of Richmond castle and those of lardiner and warrener; and with regard to the office of sheriff one of the tenants "should be sheriff of Richmondshire, paying a rent of 20s. to the earl. He is not sheriff and pays no rent."<sup>3</sup> In the third, dated 1247, references are made to the office of marshal (*marescallus*), and to the minor offices of janitor at the castle of Richmond and of the bearer of writs of the earl from Richmond to Scotland, all these offices being serjeanties attached to the tenure of certain lands.<sup>4</sup>

Several charters of the officials of the honour will be printed in Chapter V; and in the subsequent chapter the personnel of the offices and the extent to which the hereditary element prevailed will be examined.

<sup>1</sup> There are two witnesses described as chamberlain, but it seems uncertain whether both were officers of the duke.

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. Inq. Misc.*, i, no. 480.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 516.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 53.

## APPENDIX E.

## NOTES ON THE FINANCES OF THE HONOUR 1171-1200.

At Michaelmas 1171 Ranulf de Glanville, by the verdict of Reiner his serjeant,<sup>1</sup> paid into the exchequer 62*li.* 4*s.* 5*d.* of the issues of the honour of earl Conan, but rendered no account.<sup>2</sup> This entry indicates that earl Conan was then dead. The Yorkshire roll for the same year shows 100*li.* spent on work at Bowes castle.<sup>3</sup>

At Michaelmas 1172 Glanville, in addition to paying in a sum of 6*li.* 8*s.* 2*d.* brought forward from the previous year, rendered an account of 430*li.* 11*s.* 2*d.* for the year then ending from the farms of the manors, drengage services, and the third penny of Ipswich.<sup>4</sup> He paid 329*li.* 12*s.* 9*d.* into the exchequer; and the specified payments and deductions amounted to 100*li.* 18*s.* 5*d.*, which precisely accounts for the balance. These payments and deductions were as follows :

Alms to the sick of the hospital of Richmond, <sup>5</sup> for 5 loads of corn ..		10 <i>s.</i>	
To the nuns of Richmond <sup>6</sup> ..		4 <i>s.</i>	
To the monks of Bégard, <sup>7</sup> for tithe of the demesne ploughs .. ..	4 <i>li.</i>	11 <i>s.</i>	4 <i>d.</i>
To the monks of York, <sup>8</sup> for tithe of the mills of Richmond .. ..	1 <i>li.</i>		
To the archdeacon of Canterbury, <sup>9</sup> for his fee in the third penny of Ipswich .. ..	5 <i>li.</i>		
To countess Margaret, in compensation for money taken from her dower	30 <i>li.</i>	9 <i>s.</i>	10 <i>d.</i>
To Josce the vintner ( <i>Ioconi vinitori</i> )	5 <i>li.</i>	5 <i>s.</i>	
Work on the houses and keep of Richmond .. ..	51 <i>li.</i>	11 <i>s.</i>	3 <i>d.</i>
Making up the stock of Eryholme ( <i>Argum</i> ) .. ..		12 <i>s.</i>	

<sup>1</sup> Probably Reiner de Waxham who occurs later as Glanville's steward and acted for him as under-sheriff of Yorkshire; see note to charter no. 97 below.

<sup>2</sup> *Pipe Roll 17 Hen. II*, p. 117. The entry occurs on the roll for cos. Cambridge and Huntingdon. Glanville was not sheriff of Yorkshire at this period; he did not recover the office until 1175-76; but he rendered the accounts of the honour throughout the period 1171-83.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 63.

<sup>4</sup> For this see p. 92 above.

<sup>5</sup> The hospital of St. Nicholas.

<sup>6</sup> For the little which is known about a nunnery at Richmond see *V.C.H., N.R.*, i, 21; and Clarkson, *Richmond*, p. 223.

<sup>7</sup> Bégard abbey in Brittany, founded by count Stephen.

<sup>8</sup> Earl Conan gave a tithe of his mills of Richmond to St. Martin's priory, Richmond, a cell of St. Mary's, York (charter no. 42).

<sup>9</sup> Geoffrey Ridel, who appears as Geoffrey, bishop of Ely, in the corresponding entry at Michaelmas 1174 and during the remainder of the period to 1183. He was *custos* of the vacant see of Ely in 1172.

Default of the rent of the mill of Swavesey for the quarter of the year when Josce ( <i>Jocius</i> ) the vintner held it .. ..	1 <i>li.</i> 15 <i>s.</i>
	<hr/>
	100 <i>li.</i> 18 <i>s.</i> 5 <i>d.</i>

In addition to this account Glanville paid into the exchequer 67*li.* 1*s.* 6*d.* from the fair of Holland;<sup>1</sup> a supplementary sum of 1*s.* 6*d.* from the farm of the manors; 176*li.* 12*s.* 1*d.* for the scutage of the knights of the honour for the army of Ireland;<sup>2</sup> and 40*li.* for perquisites and small pleas of the honour.<sup>3</sup>

At Michaelmas 1173 Glanville rendered no account by reason of the war.<sup>4</sup> But at Michaelmas 1174 he accounted for two years. The main account—from the farms of the manors, drengage services, and the third penny of Ipswich—was for 865*li.* 6*s.* 1*d.*, slightly more than double the yearly amount of two years before; he paid 187*li.* 13*s.* 4*d.* into the exchequer, and the payments and deductions amounted to 141*li.* 17*s.* 11*d.*, leaving a balance due of 535*li.* 14*s.* 10*d.* The payments for the two years include sums which correspond to the first five entries in the list at Michaelmas 1172, except that the monks of Bégard received 4*li.* 7*s.* 4*d.* for each year. A sum of 30*li.* in Swavesey, representing one and a half years, was deducted from the amount to be paid in,<sup>5</sup> being the value of land given to Alan de Rohan<sup>6</sup> in pursuance of the king's writ; and also 44*li.* in the manor of Cheshunt which earl William de Mandeville had at farm from the king. 44*li.* 16*s.* 6*d.* was paid for work at Bowes castle and strengthening its fortifications against the king of Scotland. The extra account included sums due of 22*li.* 2*s.* 5*d.* and 10*li.* 6*s.* 1*d.* from the fair of Holland for the two years, which show a heavy decline from the normal revenue.<sup>7</sup>

At Michaelmas 1175 the balance sheet of the main account works out as follows :

<sup>1</sup> Held at Boston. It was called 'feria sancti Botulphi' in 1200 (*Pipe Roll 2 John*, p. 88), and afterwards 'nundine sancti Botulphi.'

<sup>2</sup> For this he rendered no account, not knowing the number of knights. This sum may be compared with the 175*li.* 3*s.* 4*d.* for which earl Conan had rendered account at Mich. 1167 for the expenses of the serjeants in the army of Wales (*ibid.*, 13 Hen. II, p. 80), suggesting a total of 175½ knights. This total is nearly the same as the number of knights owing the service of castle-guard at Richmond, which will be examined in detail in Chapter IV.

<sup>3</sup> *Pipe Roll 18 Hen. II*, p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 19 Hen. II, p. 10.

<sup>5</sup> It seems clear that such a sum was included on both sides of the account, being allowed on the debit side as a deduction.

<sup>6</sup> His original interest in the honour had been due to his marriage with Constance sister of earl Conan (see p. 91 above).

<sup>7</sup> *Pipe Roll 20 Hen. II*, p. 48.



<i>Receipts</i>		<i>Payments and Deductions</i>	
Balance brought forward		To exchequer	227 <i>li.</i> 5 <i>s.</i>
	535 <i>li.</i> 14 <i>s.</i> 10 <i>d.</i>	Specified payments and deductions	150 <i>li.</i> 14 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>
For the year	433 <i>li.</i> 13 <i>s.</i> 5 <i>d.</i>	Default of fair of Richmond due to war <sup>1</sup>	12 <i>li.</i> 16 <i>s.</i> 5 <i>d.</i>
	<hr/> 969 <i>li.</i> 8 <i>s.</i> 3 <i>d.</i>	Default of farm of Ipswich due to war	2 <i>li.</i> 10 <i>s.</i>
		To knights and serjeants in king's service during war	576 <i>li.</i> 2 <i>s.</i> 2 <i>d.</i>
			<hr/> 969 <i>li.</i> 8 <i>s.</i> 3 <i>d.</i>

The usual payments were on the same scale as during the preceding year, except that the monks of Bégard received only 3*li.* 14*s.* for the tithe of the demesne ploughs; the Swavesey and Cheshunt deductions were at the same rate; and additional deductions were made of 14*li.* 3*s.* 4*d.* on behalf of Humphrey de Bohun<sup>2</sup> for half the year in Moulton and Forcett [in Richmondshire], which earl Conan had granted by charter to the countess [Margaret] in exchange of dower; 31*li.* 17*s.* 4*d.* to Jurnetus the Jew of Norwich from the manor of Costessey for a debt incurred by countess Bertha;<sup>3</sup> and 30*li.* 6*s.* for work at the houses and castle of Richmond. The extra account included the proceeds of 61*li.* 7*s.* 2*d.* from the fair of Holland for the year, showing a great improvement; and a further payment of 32*li.* 8*s.* 6*d.* to the knights and serjeants was defrayed from these proceeds which had accumulated during the three years, the balance being paid into the exchequer. On this roll there is given a long list of miscellaneous receipts, including tallage of Costessey, Holland, Washingborough, and Coleby,<sup>4</sup> and also a sum of 6*li.* 17*s.* 1*d.* for 28 colts sold from the stud of Richmond. These total to 283*li.* 18*s.* 3*d.* The sum of 14*li.* 15*s.* 11*d.* was paid into the exchequer, and a further sum of 269*li.* 2*s.* 4*d.* was paid for the war service of the knights and serjeants, the sum total under this heading, both horse and foot, amounting to 918*li.* 10*s.* 1*d.* Taken as a whole the receipts from the honour<sup>5</sup> for the year were 433*li.* 13*s.* 5*d.* (main account) and c. 358*li.* 12*s.* 8*d.* (extra).<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Apparently the fair was then assessed at a constant yearly value.

<sup>2</sup> He had married countess Margaret, widow of earl Conan.

<sup>3</sup> Widow of earl Alan; she had died before Aug. 1167 (see p. 91 above).

<sup>4</sup> Coleby [Lincs.] is described as the land of the chamberlain of Tancarville; his interest was derived from the marriage of William de Tancarville with Tiffany daughter of count Stephen (see p. 89 above).

<sup>5</sup> Excluding arrears and also four cases of fines and reliefs from tenants of the honour for which they themselves accounted.

<sup>6</sup> *Pipe Roll 21 Hen. II*, pp. 3-7.

Accounts continued to be rendered by Glanville until Michaelmas 1183.<sup>1</sup> The receipts on the main account for the first two years of the remainder of the period were 433*li.* 16*s.* 9*d.*, and 433*li.* 17*s.* 3*d.* thereafter. The fixed payments were made at the same rate, except that the sum given to the monks of Bégard was stabilized at 3*li.* 6*s.* from Michaelmas 1176. The deductions of 20*li.* in Swavesey for land given to Alan de Rohan, and of 28*li.* 6*s.* 8*d.* in Moulton and Forcett for the countess's dower continued throughout.<sup>2</sup> From Michaelmas 1177 the entries show that the king had demised Cheshunt to his son Geoffrey, and the sum of 44*li.* in respect thereof was deducted from the amount to be paid in. Eryholme (*Argum*) in Richmondshire yielded a farm of 8*li.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, being the land of Richard son of Roger which was in the king's hand; this was increased to 9*li.* 3*s.* 4*d.* from Michaelmas 1181.<sup>3</sup> Details are given of several other farms of lands in the honour. Among the extra receipts Holland fair produced between 70*li.* and 80*li.* for the first four years, with a fall to 61*li.* 3*s.* 9*d.* at Michaelmas 1180, and a rise to 91*li.* 15*s.* 4*d.* at Michaelmas 1182 and 104*li.* 19*s.* 5*d.* during the following year. Sales of colts from the stud produced 6*li.* 8*d.* for 20 in number at Michaelmas 1182, and smaller sums in other years. Expenditure of more than 117*li.* at the castle of Bowes and the keep was included at Michaelmas 1180, and repairs of 31*li.* 12*s.* 4*d.* at Richmond castle three years later. At Michaelmas 1182 there is a payment of 36*s.* for the repair of the houses of Washingborough, and 40*s.* for enclosures round the park.<sup>4</sup>

At Michaelmas 1176 and the two succeeding years large payments were made to the Jews from the revenues of the honour—223*li.* 9*s.* 10*d.*; 220*li.*, and 260*li.* It is uncertain whether these were in respect of debts incurred by earl Conan, or whether they represented payments due from the crown. For certainly at Michaelmas 1178 and during the remainder of the period payments were made for purposes unconnected with the administration of the honour. Even two years earlier a purchase of 34 pounds of sugar had been made at Boston fair, at the high price of 9*d.* the pound; and this had been for the king's own use. At Michaelmas 1178 27*li.* 6*s.* 11*d.* was paid for timber brought from York to London for the repair of the Tower. At Michaelmas 1180 6*li.* 10*s.* was charged for work at Pickering castle, and 20*li.* 13*s.* 4*d.* three

<sup>1</sup> *Pipe Roll 22 Hen. II*, p. 121; *23 Hen. II*, p. 80; *24 Hen. II*, p. 72; *25 Hen. II*, p. 24; *26 Hen. II*, p. 74; *27 Hen. II*, p. 46; *28 Hen. II*, p. 46; *29 Hen. II*, p. 56.

<sup>2</sup> At Mich. 1182 and 1183 the deduction was on behalf of the countess herself instead of Humphrey de Bohun, her second husband, who was then presumably dead.

<sup>3</sup> At Mich. 1175 Glanville had accounted for 26*li.* of the issues of this land for three years (*Pipe Roll 21 Hen. II*, p. 5). For Richard son of Roger see the Eryholme sub-fee in Chapter V, §1b.

<sup>4</sup> Count Stephen and earl Conan both issued charters at Washingborough, Lincs. (nos. 11A, 31, 32); and earl Conan had demesne land there (no. 56A). It is evident that the lords of the honour had a residence, to which the *Pipe Roll* entry refers.

years later. At Michaelmas 1181 the cost of bringing 241 cart-loads of lead from Boroughbridge to York, and thence to Rouen for a gift to the church of Clairvaux was 27*li.* 5*s.* Several large payments were also made for work at Waltham abbey and Amesbury, which, as Round notes, were two religious houses that benefited from the king's penance after Becket's murder.<sup>1</sup> Much lead for Waltham was brought from Boroughbridge to Selby and thence to London, or from Yarm to Stratford in Essex.

Apart from the various sums for which Glanville accounted during the period when the honour was in the king's hand up to Michaelmas 1183 several of the tenants accounted separately for such payments as were due for fines, licences or reliefs. These entries are of importance in showing changes of tenure. They are of value for genealogical purposes, and often assist in the dating of charters.

After Michaelmas 1183 the financial administration of the honour devolved on duke Geoffrey, who in 1181 had married Constance daughter of earl Conan. There is evidence, however, that the crown retained or again acquired some interest, including the custody of the castles in Yorkshire. At Michaelmas 1186 and 1187 Glanville, as sheriff of Yorkshire, accounted for the sums of 13*li.* and 11*li.* 11*s.* for work and repairs on the king's houses in Richmond castle, and in the latter year 23*li.* for work on the keep of Bowes.<sup>2</sup> These entries may perhaps indicate that the crown resumed control of the castles after duke Geoffrey's death in 1186, and while Constance remained a widow.<sup>3</sup> But at Michaelmas 1190 Alan son of Roald owed 200 marks which he had to pay for having the custody of Richmond castle with the constablenesship.<sup>4</sup> This indicates that the castle was still in royal control, and was not in the possession of Constance and her second husband Ranulf, earl of Chester. On the roll of escheats at the same term there is an entry relating to the land of the 'count' of Brittany which Warin de Basingeburne had in custody, and details are given of the farms of Washingborough, Fulbeck, Boston, the soke of Holland, in Lincolnshire; Costessey, in Norfolk; Nettlestead, in Suffolk; Cheshunt, in Hertfordshire; and issues of the third penny of Ipswich, the fair of Boston, and the mill of Washingborough. The total receipts were 265*li.* 12*s.* 9*d.*, and a payment of 40*li.* was made to the creditors of 'count' Geoffrey, who had died four years before.<sup>5</sup> It is evident that an important part of the honour had been retained by the crown. Further, at Michaelmas 1194 Constance, described as countess of Brittany, was herself assessed for scutage; and she rendered account of 140*li.* for the scutage of 140 knights' fees which Thomas de Burgh her steward recognized as belonging to the honour in England.<sup>6</sup> But this number is considerably less than the number of knights of the honour which had

<sup>1</sup> *Pipe Roll 26 Hen. II*, p. xxix.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 32 *Hen. II*, p. 86; 33 *Hen. II*, p. 82.

<sup>3</sup> See on this point *V.C.H., N.R.*, i, 3.

<sup>4</sup> *Pipe Roll 2 Ric. I*, p. 66.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 6 *Ric. I*, p. 163.



formed the basis of assessment in the time of earl Conan.<sup>1</sup> Additional details show that at Michaelmas 1196, when Constance was still defraying her debt, the sheriff of Essex and Hertfordshire owed 9*li.* 13*s.* 4*d.* for the third scutage in respect of knights of earl Conan;<sup>2</sup> and the sheriff of Nottinghamshire rendered account of 32*s.* for the second scutage in respect of the honour of Richmond in that county.<sup>3</sup> In the following year the sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk rendered account of 9*li.* 13*s.* 4*d.* for the third scutage in respect of the knights of earl Conan;<sup>4</sup> and at the same time Stephen de Turneham accounted for the farm of Costessey which was among the escheats.<sup>5</sup> In the same year the archbishop of Canterbury was pardoned 23*li.* 5*s.* 10*d.* for knights' fees which he had in custody;<sup>6</sup> and a comparison with an entry at Michaelmas 1200 suggests that he had 19 knights' fees of the honour of Richmond in his custody.<sup>7</sup> The combined evidence points to the conclusion that Constance, at all events after her first husband's death, had never acquired possession of the whole of the honour.

It is clear that soon after king John succeeded to the crown he seized the lands of the honour into his own hand. At Michaelmas 1200 Alexander de Pointon accounted for the lands of the 'countess' of Brittany.<sup>8</sup> The receipts show that the seizure had been made before Michaelmas in the previous year. For the scutage of 2 marks levied after the king's coronation Pointon rendered account of 280 marks for the knights of the honour, representing the same number on which Constance had been assessed in the previous reign; from this sum he was allowed to deduct 40 marks on account of 20 fees, which included the 19 in the archbishop of Canterbury's custody.<sup>9</sup>

The receipts at Michaelmas 1200 were as follows:<sup>10</sup>

Farm of vill of Richmond at Martinmas and			
Whitsuntide .. .. .	60 <i>li.</i>	6 <i>s.</i>	8 <i>d.</i>
Rent of escheats therein, $\frac{1}{2}$ yr. .. ..	12 <i>s.</i>	2 <i>d.</i>	
Farm of [East] Witton, $\frac{1}{2}$ yr. .. ..	20 <i>li.</i>		
Farm of Catterick with the mill .. ..	5 <i>li.</i>	7 <i>s.</i>	6 <i>d.</i>
Farm of demesne thereof, $\frac{1}{2}$ yr. .. ..	4 <i>li.</i>		
Sale of corn of demesne thereof .. ..	18 <i>li.</i>	6 <i>s.</i>	8 <i>d.</i>
Assize rent of Moulton with farm of the mill ..	6 <i>li.</i>	8 <i>s.</i>	8 <i>d.</i>
Sale of corn thereof .. ..	7 <i>li.</i>	11 <i>s.</i>	2 <i>d.</i>
Sale of stock from Moulton and Gilling ..	8 <i>li.</i>		
Assize rent of Gilling with farm of the mill ..	10 <i>li.</i>	13 <i>s.</i>	

<sup>1</sup> See p. 109 above.

<sup>2</sup> *Chancellor's Roll* 8 Ric. I, p. 122.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 272.

<sup>4</sup> *Pipe Roll* 9 Ric. I, p. 239.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* Costessey in Norfolk was the land of Alan de Rohan, whose lands in Cambridgeshire, held of the honour, had also escheated to the crown (*ibid.*, p. 81).

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 2 John, p. 91, where it is evident that the 19 fees formed part of the 140.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 87-91; and see Mrs. Stenton's notes in the introduction thereto, p. xiv. Constance did not die until 1201.

<sup>9</sup> At Mich. 1199 Constance had accounted for this sum, but Alexander de Pointon 'respondet inde in compoto suo' (*ibid.*, 1 John, p. 55).

<sup>10</sup> The place-names, which are in Yorkshire unless otherwise stated, are given in modern form.



Sale of corn thereof .. .. .	7 <i>li.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>
Assize rent of Bowes and Boldron with farm of the mill .. .. .	6 <i>li.</i> 14 <i>s.</i>
Rent of 5 drengage tenants .. .. .	2 <i>li.</i> 4 <i>s.</i> ½ <i>d.</i>
Assize rent of soke of Holland [co. Lincoln] ..	64 <i>li.</i> 16 <i>s.</i>
Assize rent of vill of Boston [co. Lincoln], ½ yr.	8 <i>li.</i> 5 <i>d.</i>
Payment of stalls therein .. .. .	1 <i>li.</i> 4 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>
Land of Alan the twin, <sup>1</sup> ½ previous yr. and ¾ yr.	3 <i>li.</i> 2 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>
Land of Henry Bertram, ½ previous yr. and ¾ yr.	9 <i>li.</i> 3 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>
Assize rent of land of William de Munbuchier, ½ previous yr. and ¾ yr. .. .. .	11 <i>li.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>
Assize rent of lands of William le Ver, William Kanard and Alan the twin, ½ previous yr. and ¾ yr. .. .. .	6 <i>li.</i> 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>
Assize rent of Cheshunt [co. Hertford], ¼ previous yr. after Arnulf de Diest had it .. .. .	8 <i>li.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>
Same, ¼ yr. after Ancher de Freschenuille had it	8 <i>li.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>
Farm of Linton [co. Cambridge], previous yr. ..	4 <i>li.</i>
Assize rent of [Cherry] Hinton [co. Cambridge], ½ yr. after Robert de Turneham had it * ..	5 <i>li.</i> 16 <i>s.</i> 5 <i>d.</i>
Perquisites of the same vill .. .. .	1 <i>li.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>
Assize rent of Swavesey [co. Cambridge], ¼ previous yr. .. .. .	3 <i>li.</i> 5 <i>s.</i> 9 <i>d.</i>
Same, ¼ yr. .. .. .	3 <i>li.</i> 5 <i>s.</i> 9 <i>d.</i>
Same, remainder of ½ yr. [before] given to Cardo de Frescheuille for 15 librates of land .. .. .	2 <i>li.</i> 2 <i>s.</i>
Mill of Niewenham, <sup>2</sup> ¼ previous yr. .. .. .	2 <i>li.</i> 5 <i>s.</i>
Rent of same, ¾ yr. .. .. .	6 <i>li.</i> 15 <i>s.</i>
Sale of corn of the vill .. .. .	8 <i>li.</i>
Sale of corn from Fulbourn [co. Cambridge] ..	5 <i>li.</i> 14 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>
Farm of Sutton [co. Nottingham], ½ previous yr.	2 <i>li.</i> 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>
Same, ½ yr. .. .. .	19 <i>s.</i> 11½ <i>d.</i>
Fine of Richard de Sutton for seisin of 68 <i>s.</i> 5 <i>d.</i> of land in Sutton and Couru <sup>3</sup> .. .. .	8 <i>li.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>
Fine of Alexander de Marignes for relief of ⅓ k.f. which he held of the heir of Hervey de Sutton .. .. .	1 <i>li.</i>
Fine of Juliana dau. of Hervey de Sutton for seisin of 8 bovates in Sutton which her father gave her .. .. .	13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>
Stock ( <i>instauramentum</i> ) of 4 ploughs in Swavesey [co. Cambridge] <sup>4</sup> .. .. .	4 <i>li.</i>

<sup>1</sup> Alan son of Lambert de Multon; see note to charter no. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Evidently Newnham mill in Cambridge. Count Stephen had given the title of his mills in Cambridge to the abbey of SS. Sergius and Bacchus at Angers (charter no. 6).

<sup>3</sup> Not identified; but possibly Coverham in Yorkshire, which formed part of the Sutton fee. At Mich. 1178 Coverham (*Coueham*) is described as the land of Hervey de Sutton (*Pipe Roll 24 Hen. II, p. 70*).

<sup>4</sup> This suggests that when Cardo de Frescheville obtained the land he purchased the ploughs and teams with the gear.

Issues of Boston fair, previous yr.	..	..	54 <i>li.</i>	5s.	5 <i>d.</i>
Same, this yr.	..	..	71 <i>li.</i>		
Perquisites of soke of Holland [co. Lincoln]	..		5 <i>li.</i>	6s.	
Sale of wood from Cheshunt [co. Hertford],					
previous yr.	..	..	60 <i>li.</i>	3s.	6 <i>d.</i>
Same from Cathal [in Cheshunt],					
this yr.	..	..	11 <i>li.</i>		
Same from Cheshunt, this yr.	..		117 <i>li.</i>	10s.	
Same from Washingborough [co.					
Lincoln], previous yr.	..	..	31 <i>li.</i>	8s.	
Assize rent of soke of Holland, $\frac{1}{4}$ previous yr.	..		11 <i>li.</i>	11s.	2 <i>d.</i>
Rent of vill of Boston, $\frac{1}{4}$ previous yr.	..		2 <i>li.</i>	3s.	
Farm of Richmond received from the reeves of					
the vill			14 <i>li.</i>		
<hr/>					
Total			717 <i>li.</i>	5s.	3 <i>d.</i>

Among the payments were 13*li.* 6s. 8*d.* to Hamelin, treasurer of Rennes, which he was accustomed to take at Cheshunt of the gift of the countess of Brittany [i.e., duchess Constance]; 18s. to the monks of Bégard;<sup>1</sup> 20s. to the monks of Jervaulx; and 2*li.* 13s. 4*d.* to the canons of Easby of the alms which earl Conan had given from the issues of the fair of Richmond.<sup>2</sup> Large payments for wine for the king's use were also included.

The honour being in the king's hand, the tenants were subjected to tallage. A list is given of over 60 tenants in Lincolnshire who still owed sums on this account. Pointon rendered an account of 282*li.* 10s. 10*d.* for the total, delivering no less than 1018 tallies. In Yorkshire the tallage was levied collectively on the vill, and not on the individual tenant, Gilling paying 2*li.*; Moulton, for the part of countess Constance, 2*li.* 6s. 8*d.*; Catterick, 1*li.* 6s. 8*d.*; Bowes, 3*li.* 6s. 8*d.*; and [East] Witton for the part which had belonged to Reginald Boterel,<sup>3</sup> 6*li.* 13s. 4*d.*

<sup>1</sup> This shows a heavy decline from the earlier payments made to them.

<sup>2</sup> A tithe of his fair of Richmond was included in earl Conan's charter to Easby abbey (no. 39).

<sup>3</sup> See charter no. 52; the remainder of the vill was in the possession of Jervaulx abbey.

### CHAPTER III.

#### CHARTERS RELATING TO THE DEMESNE LANDS OF THE HONOUR IN YORKSHIRE

The charters printed in this chapter deal with holdings of the honour in Yorkshire which, so far as is known, were not subinfeudated for military service. They comprise, firstly, the lands which had formed part of the demesne of the honour and were given in frankalmoin by the early lords; and, secondly, those lands which were held of the honour, not by military service, but by free tenants paying a money rent or some form of non-military service.<sup>1</sup> The former include such places as Escrick and others in the neighbourhood of York, which were held in demesne by count Alan at the Domesday survey and were the subject of gifts by him or his successors to the abbey of St. Mary, York.<sup>2</sup>

Certain details relating to the second category of lands are given in the inquisition taken in 1280, recording extents of lands pertaining to the honour of Richmond in several counties, in which the lands forming the demesne of the honour and those held by free tenants and others at money rents are enumerated before the knights' fees which, as the result of subinfeudation for military service, owed the service of castle-guard at Richmond.<sup>3</sup> Further details are given in the inquisition taken in 1285 which records the holdings of the honour in Yorkshire apart from the knights' fees.<sup>4</sup> These can be compared with the details recorded in Kirkby's Inquest at the period 1284-87.<sup>5</sup> The places so mentioned, in addition to Richmond itself, include Aldbrough<sup>6</sup> (par. Stanwick St. John), Arkengarthdale with the new forest, Bainbridge and several vaccaries in the forest of Bainbridge, Boldron, East Bolton,<sup>7</sup> Bowes with the castle, Catterick, Danby Wiske,<sup>8</sup> Forcett, Gilling,

<sup>1</sup> The phrase "demesne lands" in the heading to the chapter is the equivalent of *dominium* in the sense used by Round in his essay on Knight Service, i.e., the non-infeudated portion of the entire fief, as contrasted with the *dominium*, or demesne portion, of each manor upon that fief (*Feudal England*, p. 241).

<sup>2</sup> For several charters relating to lands in or near York, which had formed part of count Alan's fee, see also the section headed 'Bootham and Gillygate' in *E.Y.C.*, i, pp. 207 *et seq.*

<sup>3</sup> *Cal. Inq. p. m.*, ii, 210 *et seq.* The service of castle-guard had long before that time been commuted for a money payment on the basis of half a mark for each knight's fee in Richmondshire and 10s. in most of the other counties.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 342.

<sup>5</sup> *Feudal Aids*, vol. vi.

<sup>6</sup> The earl held 4 car. out of 8, the balance forming part of the Constable's fee (*Feudal Aids*, vi, 96; and see Chapter V, §2).

<sup>7</sup> See note to no. 91. A moiety was held by drengage service, and a moiety by knight service, part of which was in the Steward's fee (Chapter V, §1).

<sup>8</sup> This was an escheat. In 1280  $\frac{3}{4}$  knight's fee which used to do homage and scutage was in the hand of the earl (*Cal. Inq. p. m.*, ii, 223).

Middleton Tyas,<sup>1</sup> Moulton,<sup>2</sup> Scargill,<sup>3</sup> and Sedbury. Charters relating to some of these places are printed below, and examples of the non-military services are given in the annotations.

No charters relating specifically to Gilling have been found among the Farrer MSS. for the honour of Richmond. But in an annotation which he printed to a charter of Clement, abbot of St. Mary's, York, relating to Gilling-in-Ryedale,<sup>4</sup> entered in the Chartulary of that house (*penes* the Dean and Chapter of York), reference is made to two charters which clearly refer to Gilling in Richmondshire. The first is a grant by abbot Clement [1161-84] to Osbert son of Fulk de Gilling of 2 bovates of land in Gilling, to hold of the rector of Gilling by hereditary right, rendering 4s. yearly to the rector; witnesses, Ranulf de Glanvill, Godfrey de Lucy, archdeacon of Richmond, Alan the constable, Geoffrey Haget, Thorphin son of Robert, Henry son of Hervey, Roger Batveint, Con[an] de Hasch, Wigan son of Wigan, Thomas de Midelton, Roger de Lascels, Alan the clerk of Sinderby, Matthew Soteg[wame], Hugh and Hernulf, his brothers.<sup>5</sup> The second is a similar grant, the rent being 6s.<sup>6</sup>

At the Survey count Alan held the manor of Gilling, formerly earl Edwin's, to which were attached several berewicks and soke in a number of places. Count Alan I or II gave the church of Gilling and a carucate of land to St. Mary's.<sup>7</sup> Fulk de Gilling witnessed a charter of earl Conan to Fountains abbey, 1159-71 (no. 56). In 1184 Osbert son of Fouke paid 3*d.* for sheriff's aid from a carucate of land in Gilling.<sup>8</sup> At Michaelmas 1187 Osbert son of Fulk and Stephen de Berningeham occur as surveyors of work done at Bowes castle.<sup>9</sup> Alice daughter of Fulk de Gilling made a gift of 2 bovates of land in Bowes to St. Peter's hospital, York.<sup>10</sup> Osbert son of Fulk [de Gilling] and Odard de Gilling held a sixth of a knight's fee of new feoffment;<sup>11</sup> this lay in Gilling.<sup>12</sup> It seems evident that this military tenure was independent of any holding

<sup>1</sup> See note to no. 110. Part of Middleton Tyas was held by knight service.

<sup>2</sup> See note to no. 116.

<sup>3</sup> William de Scargill appears to have been a free tenant paying a money rent and also to have held  $\frac{1}{4}$  knight's fee there (*Cal. Inq. p. m.*, pp. 223, 343).

<sup>4</sup> *E.Y.C.*, no. 1878.

<sup>5</sup> *E.Y.C.*, *loc. cit.* The reference is to the Chartulary, f. 216d (old f. 139d), no. 11; the last witness is Hernulf, and not Erneis as pd. by Farrer. There is an abstract from the same source in MS. Dodsworth clvi, f. 31d with an incomplete list of witnesses. It seems evident that the two Gillings were confused by the compiler of the Chartulary.

<sup>6</sup> Chartulary, *loc. cit.*, no. 10.

<sup>7</sup> *E.Y.C.*, no. 354; and see note to no. 8 above.

<sup>8</sup> Gale, p. 22.

<sup>9</sup> *Pipe Roll 33 Hen. II*, p. 82.

<sup>10</sup> *Cal. Ch. Rolls*, 1257-1300, p. 448; and see note to no. 100 below.

<sup>11</sup> *Red Bk.*, p. 588.

<sup>12</sup> Gale, p. 27; *Cal. Inq. p. m.*, ii, pp. 215, 223. The last reference, dated 1283, evidently gives details which are not contemporary. The holding had probably escheated. This was certainly the case before 1346 (*Feudal Aids*, vi, 239).



of Osbert under the abbey which he had acquired by the charters quoted above. In 1284-85 the abbey held one carucate in Gilling, and another carucate was in the earl's demesne.<sup>1</sup>

(i) ACASTER SELBY

87. Gift by Savaric, abbot of St. Mary's, York, to Ketel de Acaster of 5 bovates of land in Acaster [Selby], for a yearly rent of 16s. and fish worth 6*d.*; the donee to prepare a house on the land, in which he or his son would dwell. [c. 1137-61]

Chartulary of St. Mary's, York (John Rylands Library, Latin MS. 221), f. 375d.

Notum sit omnibus audientibus et legentibus literas has quod ego S[avaricus] abbas ecclesie sancte Marie Eboraci cum communi consilio et assensu capituli nostri concessi et dedi Chetello de Acastra tenere de nobis quinque bovatas terre in eadem Acastra in feudo et hereditate pro xvj.<sup>clm</sup> solidis per annum, dimidium videlicet viij.<sup>to</sup> solidi ad Pentecosten et totidem ad festum sancti Martini. Preterea autem dabit annuatim ecclesie nostre quendam respectum piscis in Assumpcione sancte Marie ex precio sex denariorum ad minus. Hoc ei concedimus quamdiu se legaliter erga nos habuerit et prefatum censum bene reddiderit. Teste capitulo. Hoc eciam sciendum est quod prefatus Ketellus debet parare mansionem infra eandem terram in qua vel ipse vel filius ejus manebit.

Count Stephen included half a carucate of land in Acaster [Selby] in his charter to St. Mary's (no. 4); in the confirmation charters of kings Henry II and Richard I his gift is described as of 5 bovates.<sup>2</sup> In the margin of the chartulary opposite the above charter it is noted that 'Stephanus comes Rich[emundie] dedit' these 5 bovates. It is evident, therefore, that they formed part of the 6 bovates held by count Alan in Acaster Selby at the Survey.<sup>3</sup> A charter of Roger de Mowbray, making a gift to Ellis the abbot [1143-53] and the monastery of Selby of all the land of Acaster of his fee, was directed to Leising and Chetell and all the men of Acaster.<sup>4</sup>

For the approximate date when Savaric became abbot of St. Mary's see note to charter no. 105 below.

88. Gift by Clement, abbot of St. Mary's, York, to Hugh son of Ketel de Acaster and his heirs, of 5 bovates of land in Acaster [Selby], for a yearly rent of 12s. [1161-84]

Chartulary of St. Mary's, York (John Rylands Library, Latin MS. 221), f. 375d.

<sup>1</sup> *Feudal Aids*, vi, pp. 97, 102.

<sup>2</sup> *E.Y.C.*, no. 354; *Cal. Ch. Rolls*, 1300-26, p. 113. There is a note of count Stephen's gift of 5 bovates in Acastra [Acaster Selby] in the fragment of a chartulary of St. Mary's in MS. Dodsworth lxxvi, f. 63.

<sup>3</sup> The total assessment of the vill was 4 car., the other tenants-in-chief being Robert Malet, Erneis de Burun, and the king's thanes. See Farrer's note to *E.Y.C.*, no. 1854.

<sup>4</sup> *Selby Coucher Book*, i, 321.

Notum sit omnibus videntibus vel audientibus has literas has quod ego C[lemens] abbas ecclesie beate Marie Eboraci cum communi consilio et assensu capituli nostri concessi et dedi Hugoni filio Ketelli de Acastra tenere de nobis in eadem villa in feudo et hereditate libere et quiete sicut alii francitenentes nostri de nobis tenent quinque bovatas terre cum omnibus pertinenciis suis. Reddent vero nobis predictus Hugo et heredes ejus annuatim pro predicta tenura xij.<sup>ctm</sup> solidos, dimidium ad Pentecosten et dimidium in festo sancti Martini. Hoc eis concedimus quamdiu se legaliter erga nos habuerint et prescriptum censum bene reddiderint. Testibus hiis, Joscelino capellano, Alano presbitero, Ada de Roth[o]m[ago], Thoma de Miton, Ricardo de Huppeton, Stephano de Miton, Ricardo de Clyft[on], Roberto de Apelt[on], Alano de Elmeswella, Radulfo de Kyrkeby, Gervasio constabulario, et aliis.

## (ii) BOLDRON

89. Notification by John, abbot of Jervaulx, Ralph, abbot of Easby, and master Roger Lusard of the settlement of a dispute between master Swane and the brethren of the hospital of St. Peter, York, and Alan, rector of Startforth, concerning the tithes of Boldron and Morton and of lands between the road from Kinemund and the ditch between Startforth and Bowes, by which Alan admitted that all these tithes belonged to the brethren's church of Bowes and they granted to him for life a moiety of the tithes of Boldron, paying yearly a pound of incense. [c. 1173-86]

Chartulary of St. Leonard's, York, Cotton MS. Nero D. iii, f. 22d.

Johannes de Jerovalle et Radulfus de sancta Agatha abbates et magister Rogerus Lusard omnibus has literas visuris vel audituris salutem. Noverit universitas vestra causam que inter magistrum Suanum et fratres hospitalis sancti Petri de Eboraco et Alanum personam de Straford super decimacionibus de Bolrom et de Mortona et super tota decimacione quarundem terrarum que jacent a via de Kinemund usque ad fossam que est inter Straford et Boghas, quam ex mandato domini pape suscepimus terminandum, in presencia nostra fuisse finitam. Cum enim super prefatis decimacionibus questio verteretur, tandem prefatus Alanus persona de Straford, qui eas peciit in jure, confessus est omnes decimaciones prenominatas ad matricem ecclesiam de Boghas, quam illi tenent, de jure spectare debere. Et magister Suanus et fratres predicti hospitalis predicto Alano, pietatis intuitu, unam medietatem decimacionum de Bolrum concesserunt, tenendam in vita sua de illis, solvendo eis annuatim unam libram thuris apud Eboracum quarta feria infra septimanam Pentecosten. Juramentum eciam prestitit sepedictus Alanus quod fideliter predictam pensionem solveret, et quod decetero non moveret eis questionem super aliqua alia porcione prenominatarum decimacionum nec quid faceret in fraudem illorum vel prejudicium. Hiis testibus, Rogero de Caterik, Waltero de sancto Rinaldo, Johanne de Melsanaby, Roberto de Ransuala, Roberto de Bonevilla, Hanfrido capellano, magistro Willemo, magistro Rogero de Didereston[a], Wallevo de Bereford, Waltero de Stainweges, Roberto de Manefeld, Johanne clerico de Cateric.

Boldron, now in par. Startforth, was formerly in the par. of Bowes. For the gift of the church of Bowes to the hospital of St. Peter see note to no. 100. Swane was master of the hospital in 1173<sup>1</sup> and c. 1184-5.<sup>2</sup> Kine-mund is represented by the modern Kilmond. Morton appears to be lost.

90. Gift by Swane, master of the hospital of St. Peter, York, to Alan, rector of Startforth, of a moiety of the tithes of Boldron, paying yearly a pound of incense. [c. 1173-86]

Chartulary of St. Leonard's, York, Cotton MS. Nero D. iii, f. 22d.

Omnibus sancte matris ecclesie filiis hanc cartam visuris vel audituris magister Suanus hospitalis sancti Petri Eboraci salutem. Noverit universitas vestra nos dedisse et presenti carta confirmasse Alano persone de Straford medietatem decimacionum de Bolrom de nobis tenendam, solvendo nobis annuatim unam libram thuris apud Eboracum quarta feria infra septimanam Pentecostes. Et ipse nobis fidem prestitit de fidelitate servanda. Hiis t[estibus], etc.

(iii) EAST BOLTON

91. Gift by Acaris de Tunstall to Rievaulx abbey, with the consent of Sybil his wife, and Roger, Richard and Werri, his sons, of 25½ acres of land in [East] Bolton, with other land there and rights of pasture, paying half a mark of silver yearly, except during the first twenty years to 1194, for which period the monks had already given him 10 marks. [1173-74]

Rievaulx Chartulary, Cotton MS. Julius D. i, f. 94d (old f. 88d).  
Pd. in *Rievaulx Chartulary*, no. 139.

Omnibus sancte matris ecclesie filiis Acharius de Tunstal salutem. Sciatis me dedisse et hac presenti carta confirmasse Deo et ecclesie sancte Marie Rieuallis et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus, pro anima mea et pro animabus omnium parentum meorum, in liberam et perpetuam elemosinam xxv. acras terre et dimidiam in territorio de Bodelt-[un] ad australem partem vie qua itur de Bodelt[un] ad Richemund juxta fontem qui vocatur Birkelde ad orientalem partem ejus usque ad Stainwath, de qua terra iiij. acre et dimidia sunt culte et xxj. inculte et nemorose quas sartabant monachi cum voluerint; et totam terram istam scilicet xxv. acras et dimidiam fossato vel sepi claudent et utentur sicut eis placuerit, que in una cultura continentur. Preter hec dedi eis tres acras terre ad Wantegilebach et pasturam per totum territorium ejusdem ville, intus et extra, ubicumque pecora mea et hominum ejusdem ville pascuntur, ad x. boves et unum taurum et xxiiij. vaccas cum vitulis suis qui morabuntur cum matribus suis semper per annum integrum in eadem pastura, et ad xij. porcos habentes etatem anni unius. Et preter hec dedi eis octo perticatas terre in latum a fonte qui vocatur Birkelde usque ad viam que vadit de Bodelt[un] ad Richemund ad egressum et regressum suum itemque octo perticatas terre in latum ex altera parte ab eadem via usque ad berchariam suam. Hec omnia dedi

<sup>1</sup> E.Y.C., no. 197.

<sup>2</sup> V.C.H. Yorks., ii, 343.



eis in liberam et perpetuam elemosinam excepta dimidia marcha argenti quam michi et heredibus meis singulis annis persolvent ad Pentecosten pro omnibus serviciis. Sed sciendum est quod quieti erunt monachi ab hac firma xx.<sup>ti</sup> annis pro x. marchis argenti quas dederunt michi ante festum sancti Martini in anno Domini M.<sup>o</sup>C.<sup>o</sup>LXX<sup>o</sup>IIJ.<sup>o</sup> quando hanc terram de me receperunt, scilicet usque ad Pentecosten in anno Domini M.<sup>o</sup>C.<sup>o</sup>XC<sup>o</sup>IIJ.<sup>o</sup>; finitis vero predictis xx. annis solvent michi vel heredibus meis singulis annis dimidiam marcham ad predictum terminum pro omnibus serviciis, ita quod nichil aliud michi vel heredibus meis persolvent pro predicta terra et pastura. Et quum Willelmus filius Umfridi et Dolfinus et Willelmus filius ejus et Huctredus et Robertus filius ejus habebant singulas portiones infra predictas xxv. acras terre et dimidiam dedi eis escambium alibi in campo de Boelt[un] ad valentiam, et ipsi bona voluntate sua hanc donationem meam concesserunt et manibus suis affidaverunt coram subscriptis testibus se nunquam in posterum reclamacionem facturos super terram predictam nec per se nec per alium aliquem; et ego propria manu mea affidavi quod ego et heredes mei servabimus et manutenebimus et warantizabimus hec omnia monachis Rieuallis sine malo ingenio contra omnes homines in perpetuum, cum concessu et bona voluntate Sibille uxoris mee et filiorum meorum Rogeri et Ricardi et Werri, qui Rogerus et Ricardus hoc ipsum affidaverunt. His testibus, Radulfo abbate de sancta Agatha, Radulfo et Nicholao canonicis ejusdem domus, Rogero decano de Kateric, Alano capellano de Haukeswelle, Nicholao presbitero de Bodelt[un], Ricardo persona de Haukeswella, Everardo de Ros, Alano pincerna comitis de Richem[undia], Thorphino filio Roberti, Radulfo de Valaine, Conano de Esch, Amalrico constabulario, Radulfo filio Bude, Roberto filio Ernisii, Radulfo magno, Thoma filio Stephani de Mirflet, Waltero de Bobi, Everardo Halthain, Rogero [de] Bauenth, Abraham Cachermoine, Osberto de Ridmare, Thurkillo de Tunstal.

The wording suggests that the land was given in 1173 and that the charter was issued later, perhaps in the following year at Whitsuntide. It will be noticed that Alan, one of the witnesses, retained his style of the earl's butler, an office he had held under earl Conan who had died in 1171. It may be presumed that Amalric, of whom nothing appears to be known, was constable of Richmond; Alan son of Roald who had held the office certainly lost it at some period of his life, probably after the death of earl Conan; it was restored to him before Michaelmas 1190.<sup>1</sup>

At the Survey count Alan held 6 carucates in [East] Bolton, par. Wensley, which probably included the land known in later days as Castle Bolton.<sup>2</sup> A portion of the vill passed to the Steward's fee (see Chapter V, §1). In an inquisition which dates from the first half of the thirteenth century it was found that a former earl of Richmond gave 3 carucates in Estbolton to the ancestors of Imania daughter of Richard [de Tunstal] in drengage to carry his wine from the castle to the forest, and to keep his

<sup>1</sup> See Chapter V, §2.

<sup>2</sup> East Bolton is the modern Low Bolton (*Place Names of N.R.*, p. 256). In 1286-87 Castle Bolton (*Parva Bolton*) was returned with West Bolton, held of the Middleham fee (*Feudal Aids*, vi, 85).



hounds and hawks, how many the jurors could not say; but the service had been commuted for a farm of 9s.; of this land Peter and Imania were then holding  $1\frac{1}{2}$  car. worth 30s.; of them the heirs of William the clerk were holding one car. which had been alienated, worth 20s., of which 7 acres had been given to Jervaulx abbey, and the heirs of William son of Ulfius were holding  $\frac{1}{2}$  car. which had been alienated, worth 10s.<sup>1</sup> In 1280 a rent of 9s. 1d. was due to the earl from East Bolton,<sup>2</sup> which doubtless represented the farm mentioned above.

Acaris de Tunstall, the grantor of this charter, who took his name from Tunstall,<sup>3</sup> par. Catterick, was son of Copsi. He witnessed earl Conan's charter to Torfin son of Robert, in the period 1159-71 (no. 55). Acaris son of Copsi held the vill of Burdon, par. Haughton le Skerrie, co. Durham; he gave a carucate of land there to Roger son of Baldwin in marriage with Emma his sister, among the witnesses being his mother Langusa. This charter and several relating to Burdon issued by his son Roger—described as Roger son of Acaris de Thuncstall and Roger son of Acaris de Burdon—one of which is dated 1217, are preserved in the Durham Treasury and are printed in *Feod. Prior. Dunelm.* (Surtees Soc.), pp. 45n, 146-8n. To one of Roger's charters Torfin son of Robert is a witness. This circumstance strengthens the suggestion that Acaris and Robert son of Copsi, Torfin's father, were brothers, though probably of the half-blood.<sup>4</sup>

In 1181 (when Acaris was presumably dead) Richard [younger] son of Acaris [de Tunstall] gave a mark for relief of his land which he held of the honour of earl Conan in Yorkshire,<sup>5</sup> and in 1203 he was amerced for a disseisin.<sup>6</sup> He had a son Conan,<sup>7</sup> who apparently died without issue. Imania or Ismania his daughter married first Reginald de Bouelton,<sup>8</sup> and secondly Peter son of William de Bouelton. In 1231 Reginald and Imania his wife, and Cassandra [possibly sister of Imania] wife of Robert de Scrafton, were adjudged to have disseised Adam son of Emma of a small parcel of land in Estbolton.<sup>9</sup> In the same year Reginald de Bouelton and Ismania his wife gave a small tenement in Estbouelton to Rievaulx abbey.<sup>10</sup> In 1246 Peter son of William de Bouelton and Imania his wife gave a mill in Estbouelton to the same house; and in the same year they were parties to fines of land in Bouelton with other members of the Bouelton family, from which it is clear that the lands were held by Peter in Imania's right.<sup>11</sup> There are several charters by Imania and her two husbands, making gifts in East Bolton to Rievaulx abbey, which are printed in the *Rievaulx Chartulary*, pp. 93 to 95, from the originals at Bolton Hall. There is also a charter issued by Robert, another son of Acaris de Est Boltun (p. 98).

<sup>1</sup> *Cal. Inq. Misc.*, i, no. 480; *Yorks. Inq.*, i, 131, where 'earl Richard' is given in error for the earl of Richmond.

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. Inq. p. m.*, ii, 214. In 1285 this rent of 9s. was payable by William de Scrope (*ibid.*, p. 343).

<sup>3</sup> See Espagne fee, Chapter V, §8.

<sup>4</sup> See Manfield sub-fee, Chapter V, §1D.

<sup>5</sup> *Pipe Roll 27 Hen. II*, p. 47.

<sup>6</sup> Farrer MS., quoting *Pipe Roll*, 5 John.

<sup>7</sup> *Rievaulx Chartulary*, no. 145m.

<sup>8</sup> He was also known as Reginald Chubbe and Reginald son of Walter (*ibid.*, nos. 145j and k).

<sup>9</sup> Farrer MS., quoting Assize Roll 1042, m. 7.

<sup>10</sup> *Yorks. Fines*, 1218-31, p. 162. <sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 1232-46, pp. 124, 146, 147

Roger de Tunstall, eldest son of Acaris, succeeded to his father's holdings in Tunstall and Appleton (par. Catterick). In 1224 Aline his widow, by Roger her son as attorney, quitclaimed to Jervaulx abbey her dower of a third part of 3 carucates of land in those places; and at the same time to Easby abbey her dower of a third part of 40 acres in Tunstall.<sup>1</sup> This elder line had retained a superior interest in East Bolton. Roger the younger quitclaimed to Richard son of Wimar de Laybronne [Leyburn] all his right in the land which Ismania daughter of Richard de Tunstal his uncle held in East Bolton on the day on which she died.<sup>2</sup> This Richard son of Wimar confirmed all the gifts in East Bolton made to Rievaulx abbey by Acaris de Tunstal, his son Richard, and his granddaughter Imania.<sup>3</sup> In 1292 Richard son of Richard de Leybrun conveyed to William le Scrop 7 messuages and 12 bovates of land in Estboulton;<sup>4</sup> and on 8 April 1315 Henry le Scrop acquired from Rievaulx abbey 3 messuages, a bovat, etc. in 'Estboulton in Wandeslaghdale' and a messuage, etc. in Bellerby, being all the abbey's holdings in those places, in exchange for land in Newsham-upon-Tees, co. Durham.<sup>5</sup>

The Scrope interest in East Bolton had, however, arisen at an earlier date. In 1285, as noted above, William le Scrope was paying 9s. to the earl for the demesne portion of the vill. In 1286-87 he also held a moiety of 3 carucates in East Bolton directly of the earl, and the other moiety of the Steward's fee; these 3 carucates made a sixth part of a knight's fee.<sup>6</sup>

**92. Gift by Acaris de Tunstall to Rievaulx abbey, for the soul of Conan his son, and with the consent of Sybil his wife, of a house in [East] Bolton, with land there and rights of pasture.**  
[c. 1173-74]

Rievaulx Chartulary, Cotton MS. Julius D. i, f. 96d (old f. 90d).  
Pd. in *Rievaulx Chartulary*, no. 140.

Omnibus sancte matris ecclesie filiis Acharius de Tunstal salutem. Notum sit vobis me dedisse et hac presenti carta confirmasse Deo et ecclesie sancte Marie Rieuallis et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus in liberam et perpetuam elemosinam, pro anima mea et anima uxoris mee et Conani filii mei et omnium parentum nostrorum unam domum in Bodeltuna cum tofto et crofto juxta fontem qui vocatur Birkelde ad occidentalem partem ejusdem fontis in quibus continetur una acra et tres perticate terre. Preterea dedi eisdem monachis terram in campo predicte ville a via qua itur de Bodelt[un] ad Richemund usque ad fossatum quod fecit frater Godricus ultra magnum truncum de Boul, scilicet octies xx.<sup>ti</sup> et iiij.<sup>or</sup> perticatas in longum et xl. in latum a cilio montis de Depedale versus occidentem que simul faciunt xl.<sup>a</sup> et unam acram itemque de cilio predicti montis dedi eis totum latus ejusdem

<sup>1</sup> *Yorks. Fines*, 1218-31, p. 56.

<sup>2</sup> *Rievaulx Chartulary*, no. 145b.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 145c.

<sup>4</sup> Farrer MS., quoting Feet of Fines, file 66, no. 5.

<sup>5</sup> *Rievaulx Chartulary*, nos. 145v and w.; and cf. *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1313-17, p. 260.

<sup>6</sup> *Feudal Aids*, vi, 86. This explains the twelfth part of a knight's fee held by William le Scrope in an unspecified place in 1283 (*Cal. Inq. p. m.*, ii, 222).

montis versus orientem usque ad aquam que fluit in predicta Depedale per totum sicut terra eorum superius nominata tendit in longum. Hanc terram concessi monachis fossato et sepi claudere et uti pro eorum voluntate. Pasturam etiam in eadem villa de Bodelt[un] dedi eis ad iiij.<sup>or</sup> equos et xvj. animalia et ad oves quadringentas et ad arietes xx<sup>ti</sup> iiij.<sup>or</sup>, quarum ovium agni postquam a matribus fuerint separati per totam pasturam ejusdem ville pascentur tribus ebdomadibus sicut agni de Bodelt[un]. Dedi preterea antedictis monachis ad aisiammentum fratrum suorum sedem bercharie ad oves suas antenominatas in campo ville superius nominate continentem in se xix.<sup>1</sup> perticatas terre in longum et xv. in latum. Concessi etiam eis totam pasturam in Apedale ita quod non cedent ibi ligna nisi per licentiam meam; nec canis eorum ibi curret nisi ducatur. Porro aisiammenta sua per totum ubi homines mei accipiunt tam ad focum quam ad sepes faciendas et ipsi accipient. Concedo nichilominus eis molere bladum suum ad molendinum meum pro vicesima mensura quamdiu bene molere potest et quando voluerint. Sciendum est autem quod predicte quadringente oves per magnum centum numerabuntur, que oves cum animalibus supradictis pascentur in communi pastura ubicumque pecora predicte ville pascentur. Hec omnia dedi eisdem monachis Rieuall[is] concessu et bona voluntate Sibille uxoris mee et omnium heredum meorum libera et quieta ab omni terreno servitio et consuetudine seculari; que omnia warantizabimus eis, ego videlicet et heredes mei contra omnes homines in perpetuum. His testibus, Serlone abbate de Elemosina, Turstino abbate de Geroldonia, Hugone abbate de sancto Laurentio, Johanne abbate de Joreualle, Radulfo abbate de sancta Agatha de Richemund[ia], Rogero decano de Cateric, Willelmo persona de Hornebi, Willelmo persona de Richemund[ia], Nicholao persona de Bodelt[un], Everardo de Ros, Alano pincerna comitis de Richemund[ia], Roberto filio Ernisi, Thoma filio Stephani de Mirflet, Radulfo magno, Waltero de Bobi, Everardo Althain, Andrea de Hakeford, Laurentio de Hernebi, Radulfo filio Bude, Rogero, Ricardo, Werri filiis ipsius Acharii, Acharia de Halnathbi, Willelmo filio Drogonis de Harum, Rogero de Multun, Willelmo Luuet, Odone de Helertun, Ivone de Forset, Unfrido de Aluertun, Copsi de Wandess[ia], Turkillo de Tunstal, Willelmo filio Edredi, Ivone filio Ernaldi, Willelmo filio Dolfini, Willelmo filio Unfridi, Uctredo filio Reinilde,<sup>2</sup> Hugone filio Halthuri, Ricardo de Weremund<sup>3</sup>.

As eleven of the witnesses occur in no. 91 the two charters are evidently of approximately the same date. Serlo, abbot of l'Aumône, died in 1181;<sup>3</sup> and Thurstan, abbot of Garendon, in 1189.<sup>4</sup> Hugh, abbot of Revesby, Lincs. (*de sancto Laurentio*) occurs in 1172.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> xxx in pd. copy.

<sup>2</sup> More likely than *Reiculde* in pd. copy.

<sup>3</sup> *Annals of Waverley*, p. 242. This Cistercian house was near Blois, dept. Loir-et-Cher.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 246.

<sup>5</sup> *Mon. Ang.*, v, 453.

*Jervaulx?*



93. Gift by Acaris de Tunstall to Rievaulx abbey, for the health of the soul of himself and Sybil his wife, and with the consent of Roger his son, of 12 acres of land [in East Bolton], rendering 2s. 6d. yearly; together with a small meadow. [1174-81]

Rievaulx Chartulary, Cotton MS. Julius D. i, f. 98 (old f. 92). Pd. in *Rievaulx Chartulary*, no. 141.

Omnibus sancte matris ecclesie filiis Acharius de Tunstal salutem. Sciatis me dedisse et hac presenti carta confirmasse Deo et ecclesie sancte Marie Rieuallis et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus, pro animabus patris mei et matris mee et pro salute anime mee et Sibille uxoris mee et omnium parentum et heredum meorum, concessu et bona voluntate Rogeri filii mei, in puram et perpetuam elemosinam illam culturam duodecim acrarum terre quam primo tenuerunt de me ad terminum, scilicet illam que incipit ad Birkelde ex parte orientali de Bodeltona ad australem partem vie qua itur de Bodelt[ona] ad Richemund[iam] et durat usque in rivulum de Depedala et inde per descensum aque usque ad rogam calcis,<sup>1</sup> tenendam in perpetuum liberam et quietam ab omni terreno servicio et exactione seculari, reddendo singulis annis michi et heredibus meis duos solidos argenti et vi. denarios ad festum sancti Martini pro omnibus serviciis et nichil amplius. Et preterea dedi eis in liberam et perpetuam elemosinam illud parvum pratum quod Henricus de Bodelt[ona] tenuit de me juxta predictam culturam. Hec omnia ego et heredes mei adquietabimus de omnibus servitiis et warantizabimus illa contra omnes homines in perpetuum. Hec autem fideliter et sine malo ingenio tenenda in perpetuum manu mea affidavi, primo in manu Rogeri de Katerich decani et postea in manu Radulfi de Valaines in curia comitis de Richemund. His testibus, Thoma priore de sancto Martino, Rogero de Katerich decano, Radulfo de Valaines, Alano filio Briani, Rogero de Coiners, Alano pincerna, Conano de Hornebi, Thoma de Hakeford, Conano de Esch, Willelmo filio Gamelli, Thoma de Runget[ona], Achario de Alnadebi, Alexandro clerico de Castello Bernardi, Rogero filio meo, Radulfo Bodan.<sup>2</sup>

In the confirmation by Richard son of Acaris of his father's three charters (no. 98) it is expressly stated that the gift of 12 acres and a small meadow was the third, issued under the donor's second seal. But as five of the witnesses occur in no. 91 it is probably not much later in date; and it is not later than 1181 when the donor was dead. The charter gives a reference to official duties performed by Ralph de Valognes as sheriff of Richmond. He appears as sheriff as a witness to no. 121, and as sheriff witnessed two charters to Fountains abbey of land in Kirkby Wiske.<sup>3</sup> See also note to no. 106. It will be noticed that the court was still styled the earl's court, although earl Conan had died in 1171.

94. Gift by William son of Humphrey de Bolton to Rievaulx abbey, for the soul of Gamel his uncle, of 7 acres of land [in East Bolton] near the land which Acaris his lord had given. [1174-81]

<sup>1</sup> The lime-kiln.

<sup>2</sup> Ralph son of Bude of the two preceding charters.

<sup>3</sup> *Fountains Chartulary*, pp. 384-5.



Rievaulx Chartulary, Cotton MS. Julius D. i, f. 99d (old f. 93d).  
Pd. in *Rievaulx Chartulary*, no. 143.

Omibus sancte matris ecclesie filiis tam presentibus quam futuris Willelmus filius Unfridi de Bodeltun salutem. Notum sit vobis me dedisse et hac presenti carta confirmasse Deo et ecclesie sancte Marie Rieuallis et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus, in liberam et perpetuam elemosinam et pro anima mea et pro patris et matris mee animabus et pro anima avunculi mei Gamelli et pro animabus omnium parentum meorum septem acras terre versus occidentem juxta terram quam dedit eis dominus meus Acharius. Hanc ipsam terram sine ulla contradictione heredum meorum habebunt liberam et quietam in perpetuum ab omni terreno servicio et consuetudine seculari. Hanc etiam donationem confirmat Acharius dominus meus sigillo suo. His testibus, Rogero de Kateric, Nicholao presbitero de Boeltun, Willelmo filio Reginaldi, Ivone filio Aluredi, Radulfo filio Bude, Radulfo nepote Acharii, Rogero filio Acharii, Ricardo filio Acharii, Werri filio Acharii, Copsi de Wandels[eia], Turkillo de Tunstal, Daniele de Belgerbi.

95. Gift by William son of Humphrey de Bolton to Rievaulx abbey, for the soul of Gamel his uncle, of 8 acres and 3 roods of land in [East] Bolton; and of his interest in all the pasture which Acaris his lord had given in the same vill. [1174-81]

Rievaulx Chartulary, Cotton MS. Julius D. i, f. 100 (old f. 94).  
Pd. in *Rievaulx Chartulary*, no. 144.

Omibus sancte matris ecclesie filiis Willelmus filius Unfridi de Bodelt[un] salutem. Notum sit vobis me dedisse et hanc presenti carta confirmasse Deo et ecclesie sancte Marie Rieuallis et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus, in puram et perpetuam elemosinam, pro anima mea et pro animabus patris mei et matris mee et Gamelli avunculi mei et omnium parentum meorum octo acras terre et tres perticatas in campo de Bodelt[un]. Totam hanc terram sine ulla contradictione heredum meorum habebunt liberam et quietam in perpetuum ab omni terreno servicio et consuetudine seculari. Concessi etiam eisdem monachis totam pasturam quam dominus meus Acharius dedit eis in campo ejusdem ville et dedi eis quantum ad me pertinet presentique carta confirmavi, ita libere plenarieque tenendam in perpetuum ad oves et animalia et pecora sua sicut idem dominus meus Acharius eandem pasturam illis dedit et carta sua confirmavit. Hanc donationem meam ego et heredes mei warantizabimus monachis Rieuall[is] contra omnes homines in perpetuum. His testibus, Hugone abbate de Sartis, Adam de Karrum canonico, Alexandro monacho de Sartis, Hugone filio Willelmi dapifero Everardi de Ros, Willelmo filio Briani de Helmesl[eia], Edmundo de Berechil, Ricardo de Wanc'ugh' Serlone de Mart[ona].

Hugh occurs in 1173 as abbot of Wardon (*de Sartis*), co. Bedford,<sup>1</sup> which was a daughter house of Rievaulx. Everard de Ros died before Michaelmas 1182.<sup>2</sup> These three charters, nos. 94-96, were issued after Acaris de Tunstall became a benefactor to Rievaulx, and before 1181 when he was dead.

<sup>1</sup> *Wardon Chartulary* (Beds. Hist. Rec. Soc.), p. 357.

<sup>2</sup> *Pipe Roll 28 Hen. II*, p. 46.

96. Gift by Dolfin de Bolton to Rievaulx abbey, with the consent of Acaris his lord and William his (the donor's) son, of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  acres of land in [East] Bolton, near the land which William son of Humphrey had given. [1174-81]

Rievaulx Chartulary, Cotton MS. Julius D. i, f. 100d (old f. 94d).  
Pd. in *Rievaulx Chartulary*, no. 145.

Omnibus sancte matris ecclesie filiis Dolfinus de Bodelt[un] salutem. Sciatis me dedisse et hac carta mea confirmasse Deo et ecclesie sancte Marie Rievallis et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus pro redemptione anime mee et uxoris mee et heredum meorum, concessu domini mei Acharii et concessu Willelmi filii mei, tres acras terre et dimidiam in Bodelt[un] juxta terram quam Willelmus filius Unfridi dedit eisdem monachis a parte occidentali per eandem longitudinem. Has tres acras terre et dimidiam dedi predictis monachis in puram et perpetuam elemosinam liberas et quietas ab omni terreno servicio et seculari consuetudine. Et quum proprium non habui quando hanc donationem feci sigillum, prece mea et prece testium subscriptorum, hanc donationem meam dominus meus Acharius confirmavit et sigillum suum ad hanc cartam apposuit. His testibus, Nicholao presbitero de Bodelt[un], Radulfo filio Bude, Willelmo filio Umfridi, Radulfo de Bodelt[un], Hugone filio Halthori.

97. Gift by Peter son of Gilo de Bolton to Rievaulx abbey, with the consent of Sigerid his sister and Acaris her husband, of his right in lands within their lands and their park of Depedale [in East Bolton] which Acaris de Tunstall, father of Richard his lord, had given to them; pledge for observance in the hand of Roger de Bavent, constable of Richmond. [1187]

Pd. in *Rievaulx Chartulary*, no. 145g, from the original at Bolton Hall.<sup>1</sup>

Omnibus.....Petrus filius Gillonis de Bodelton [salutem]. Sciatis me dedisse.....ecclesie sancte Marie Rievallis.....cum assensu et bona voluntate Sigeride sororis mee et Acharii viri ejus, in .....elemosinam quicquid juris habui et quicquid clamium de terris et pascuis et ceteris pertinenciis in bosco et plano et pratis, infra terras et pasturas et clausuras eorum et infra parchum eorum de Depedale quem Acharius de Tunstal pater Ricardi domini mei dedit illis et cartis suis confirmavit, ita quod monachi tenebunt illa omnia plenarie et integre, libera et quieti [etc.]. Et ego [warranty]. Hec omnia fideliter et sine malo ingenio tenenda et sine omni reclamacione in perpetuum sive per nos sive per aliquem alium ego et predicta Sigerida soror mea et Acharius vir ejus manibus nostris affidavimus in manu Rogeri de Baventh constabularii de Richemunth. Hiis testibus, Godefrido de Luci, Jocelino archidiacono de Cicestria, Willelmo Vavasur, tunc

<sup>1</sup> It was hoped that collotypes could have been included of this and the following two charters; but Lord Bolton, who has kindly searched for the originals at Bolton Hall, states that there is no mention of them in the list of deeds in his muniment room, and that they are not easily to be found.

justiciariis domini regis apud Richemunth; Rainero vicecomite Ebor[aci], Rogero de Baventh constabulario de Richemunth, et Hugone clerico ejus, Roberto de Luci, Ricardo Malebisse, Hugone Malebisse, Gaufrido de Stapeltona, Hugone filio Arturi, Asketillo de Richemunth.

*Seal : floriated device ; PERES LE FIZ.*

The donor, with the consent of Richard son of Acaris de Tunestal, his lord, made a small exchange of land in [East] Bolton with Rievaulx abbey; hiis testibus, Nicholao capellano de Rihdemere, Willelmo clerico de Bodeltona, Ricardo filio Acharisii de Tunestal, Adam filio Radulfi de Bodelton, Henrico de Bodelton, Roberto filio Uhtredi de Bodelton, et tota parochia de Bodeltona.<sup>1</sup> The gifts in Bolton of William son of Humphrey, of Dolfin de Bodeltona and Peter son of Gillo were included in the confirmation charter of king Richard I to Rievaulx abbey issued on 17 Sept. 1189.<sup>2</sup>

The justices named, together with Hugh de Morwic, held pleas at York in July 1187.<sup>3</sup> Reiner the sheriff of Yorkshire was the Reiner who filled the office of *dapifer* to Ranulf de Glanville,<sup>4</sup> and at times acted for him as deputy sheriff.<sup>5</sup> Farrer identified him with Reiner de Waxtanesham who witnessed a charter of Ranulf de Glanville to St. Leonard's hospital in the period 1179-85.<sup>6</sup> It is interesting to note the occurrence of Roger de Bavent as constable of Richmond.

98. Confirmation by Richard son of Acaris de Tunstall to Rievaulx abbey of his father's gifts in [East] Bolton, as contained in his father's three charters, including 12 acres of land and a meadow, given in the third charter, which he had denied to the monks in the king's court at York. In the king's court at York before Henry, dean of York, and his fellow justices. [1192]

Pd. in *Rievaulx Chartulary*, no. 145A, from the original at Bolton Hall.

Omnibus.....Ricardus filius Acharii de Tunstal [salutem]. Sciatis me [concessisse et] confirmasse Deo et ecclesie sancte Marie de Rievalle.....in liberam.....elemosinam omnes donationes quas Acharius pater meus dedit illis in territorio de Bodeltona, tenendas in perpetuum in omnibus rebus et libertatibus suis, ita libere.....sicut continetur in tribus cartis per Acharium patrem meum quas dedit illis de predictis donationibus, scilicet duas sub primo sigillo suo et ternam

<sup>1</sup> *Rievaulx Chartulary*, no. 145p.

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. Ch. Rolls*, 1226-57, p. 396.

<sup>3</sup> *E.Y.C.*, no. 1204; and *cf. Pipe Roll 33 Hen. II*, p. xxxv, which gives evidence that Hugh de Morwic died before Mich. 1187; *cf. also Pipe Roll 34 Hen. II*, p. 90 for a record of their proceedings in Yorkshire.

<sup>4</sup> *Pipe Roll 23 Hen. II*, p. 123, during the period 1174-77; *Rot. de Dominabus*, p. 5, date 1185. For the ruin of Gilbert de Plumton for marrying an heiress whom Glanville had destined for Reiner his steward see Round's observations in *Pipe Roll 31 Hen. II*, p. xxxii.

<sup>5</sup> *Pontefract Chartulary*, no. 311, date 1184; *Guisborough Chartulary*, ii, 61n; *E.Y.C.*, no. 370.

<sup>6</sup> *E.Y.C.*, no. 337; the identification was also suggested by Holmes in *Pontefract Chartulary*, ii, 417. Reiner evidently took his name from Waxham in Norfolk.



secundo sigillo suo que est de duodecim acris terre et de quodam parvo prato, de qua carta contradixeram illis Eboraci in curia domini regis. Et ego et heredes mei adquietabimus et warantizabimus illis hec omnia contra omnes homines inperpetuum. Hec omnia concessi eis Eboraci in curia domini regis coram Henrico decano Eboracensi et Radulfo archidiacono Herefordensi et Willelmo de Stutevilla et Hugone Bardulf, vicecomite Eboraci, [et] Henrico de Wichingtona<sup>1</sup> clerico regis, tunc iusticiariis domini regis. His testibus, Petro de Ros archidiacono Karleolensi, Ernasio de Novavilla, Theobaldo<sup>2</sup> de Valeines, Wimar filio Warneri, Thoma de Burg, Radulfo filio Radulfi de Nesham, Willelmo de Atona, Hugone de Bobi tunc subvicecomite, Waltero de Bov[in]tona,<sup>3</sup> Rogero de Laceles, Willelmo filio Gamelli, Conano de Esche, Adam filio Horm, Radulfo de Vado, Henrico de Karleolo, Hugone filio Arturi, Roberto de Bellerebi, Werrico et Jordano fratribus meis, et multis aliis.

*Seal : white wax, a bird.*

The donor made an additional gift of 3 roods in [East] Bolton; hiis testibus, Galfrido de Wille, Rogero de Tunstal, Henrico Godan,<sup>4</sup> Radulfo filio Alani, Reginaldo de Ridemer, Laurentio de Preston, Ricardo de Torelbi, Werri de Tunstalle, Nigillo filio Gweimari, Ricardo Sodan, et multis aliis.<sup>5</sup> The witnesses suggest a later date.

The justices named, together with William son of Aldelin, held pleas at York in the summer of 1192.<sup>6</sup> Hugh Bardolf was sheriff of Yorkshire from 1191 to 1194, and Hugh de Bobi under-sheriff during the same period.

99. Settlement by Simon the dean [of York], Hamo the treasurer and Adam, archdeacon of York, of the dispute between Alexander the clerk and Rievaulx abbey regarding tithes of corn of land in [East] Bolton, by which the abbey would give to Alexander for life 3s. yearly in lieu thereof, to be paid at the chapel of Bolton.

[1196-1214]

Pd. in *Rievaulx Chartulary*, no. 145v, from the original at Bolton Hall.

Omnibus . . . . . S[imon] decanus, H[amo] thesaurarius et A[dam] archidiaconus Eboracensis salutem. Noverit . . . . . causam que vertebatur inter Alexandrum clericum ex una parte et abbatem et monachos Rievallis ex alia parte super decimis bladi illius terre in Bothelton que jacet inter Depedale et grangiam de Rievallie, nobis a domino papa delegatam, ita amicabili compositione fuisse sopitam, scilicet quod idem abbas et monachi dabunt Ade<sup>7</sup> clerico tota vita sua nomine earundem decimarum pro bono pacis tres solidos annuatim, solvendos in festo sancti Martini apud capellam de Bothelton. Hanc etiam compositionem fideliter tenendam coram nobis promiserunt

<sup>1</sup> *Hicklingtona*, as pd.

<sup>2</sup> *Theoberto*, *ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Bentona*, *ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Query an error for *Sodan*.

<sup>5</sup> *Rievaulx Chartulary*, no. 145i.

<sup>6</sup> *E.Y.C.*, no. 1205; cf. *Pipe Roll 5 Ric. I*, p. 70, and introd. p. xxiv.

<sup>7</sup> Query an error for *Alexandro*.



abbas et monachi in verbo veritatis et Alexander clericus in fidei religione; et nos eam auctoritate qua in eadem causa fungebamur sigillis nostris confirmavimus.

*Seals of the dean and treasurer.*

Simon of Apulia was dean of York from 1194 to 1214. Ralph, archdeacon of York, died in 1194;<sup>1</sup> and as an outcome of the ensuing disputes Adam de Thorner became acting archdeacon in 1196;<sup>2</sup> he is named archdeacon in 1199,<sup>3</sup> but there appears to be no satisfactory evidence to fix the length of his tenure beyond that year.

(iv) BOWES

100. Gift by John son of Asculf de Bowes to the hospital of St. Peter, York, of half a carucate of land in Bowes, with a toft and croft; and confirmation of the church of Bowes, with another half carucate and the messuages where the brethren dwelt, which his predecessors had given, and of all other gifts. [c. 1195-1215]

Chartulary of St. Leonard's, York, Nero D. iii, f. 18d. Abst. in *Cal. Charter Rolls*, 1257-1300, p. 449.

Sciant omnes presentes et futuri quod ego Johannes filius Asculfi de Boghes dedi, concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi Deo et pauperibus hospitalis beati Petri Eboraci, in liberam, puram et perpetuam elemosinam sicut ulla elemosina liberius dari potest, unam dimidiam carucatam terre cum pertinenciis suis in territorio de Boghes, illam scilicet que jacet proxima versus occidentem dimidie carucate terre quam ego aliquando in manu mea tenui; et preterea toftum et croftum que Willelmus de Westwic tenuit ex occidentali parte ville de Boghes. Predictam autem dimidiam carucatam terre cum tofto et crofto predictis warantizabimus et adquietabimus et ego et heredes mei imperpetuum predictis pauperibus contra omnes homines et defendemus de forinseco et de omnibus aliis serviciis et exactionibus per aliam dimidiam carucatam terre illi proximam versus orientem, quam scilicet ego aliquando in manu mea tenui. Et preterea concessi et presenti carta mea confirmavi predictis pauperibus ecclesiam de Boghes cum alia dimidia carucata terre et mes[u]agiis ubi fratres ipsius hospitalis manent, cum aliis pertinenciis suis, quam ecclesiam cum dimidia carucata jam dicta et mesuagiis cum omnibus pertinenciis suis infra villam et extra predecessores mei predictis pauperibus in puram et perpetuam elemosinam dederunt. Preterea confirmo predictis pauperibus omnes concessionem et donaciones ipsis factas a predecessoribus nostris et faciendas illis a nobis vel<sup>4</sup> ab aliis de feudo nostro. Omnes autem jam dictas donaciones et concessionem cum omnibus pertinenciis suis infra villam et extra in aquis, in viis, in semitis, in pratis, in pascuis et pasturis, in turbariis et in omnibus aliis aisiamentis concessimus et confirmavimus predictis pauperibus; ut ego et predecessores et successores mei simus participes omnium bonorum que facienda sunt in prefata domo Dei. Hiis testibus,

<sup>1</sup> *Roger de Howden* (Rolls Ser.), iii, 273.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, iv, 8.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, iv, 98.

<sup>4</sup> *id'*, MS.

Roberto, Girardo, Willelmo, Waltero, Godefrido et aliis fratribus ipsius domus; Roberto, Petro, Thoma et aliis capellanis ipsius domus; Thoma de Langwath, W[illelmo]<sup>1</sup> de Nottingham, Hugone de Brah[am]<sup>2</sup> et aliis clericis suis; Malgero, Ernulpho, Petro coco, Ingl<sup>3</sup>,<sup>3</sup> Waltero, Ricardo et aliis servientibus; Willelmo le Bretun de Gillinge, Andrea Corbel de Hertford, Johanne de Langet<sup>4</sup>, Reginaldo fratre ejus, Willelmo de Kneton, Hugone de Scak[er]gile, Willelmo de Scak[er]gile, et multis aliis.

The church of Bowes and land on which the hospital of the brethren stood, with 4 bovates of land, were confirmed to the hospital of St. Peter by pope Eugenius III in 1148.<sup>4</sup> In a confirmation charter of Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, 1150-54 it is stated that the church of Bowes and half a carucate of land were given by count Stephen and Alan his son.<sup>5</sup> In a confirmation charter of pope Alexander III in 1173 the gift is described as the hospital of Bowes and the church, with 4 bovates of land.<sup>6</sup>

Among the charters of St. Peter's hospital which were inspected in June 1294, and which include the charter printed above, were two others relating to Bowes, evidently issued at the same time, as several of the witnesses are identical; one is a gift by Alice daughter of Fulk de Gilling of 2 bovates of land in Bowes of the 4 bovates which she had there, at a yearly rent of 4s., and the other a similar gift by William son of Geoffrey de Scaker-gile; the witnesses include John son of Asculf and Thomas his brother 'de Bohes,' and Reyner, parson of Helmsley.<sup>7</sup>

The date of these charters is probably c. 1195-1215, being the period suggested by Farrer for the present charter.

#### (v) CLIFTON (YORK)

101. Notification by king William I to Thomas, archbishop [of York], and Erneis the sheriff and all the barons of Yorkshire, French and English, of his gift to count Alan [I] of the church of St. Olave [York] and the manor of Clifton. [c. 1080-86]

Inspeximus on Patent Roll, 12 Henry VI, pt. ii, m. 34. Pd. in *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1429-36, p. 362; abst. in Davis, *Regesta*, no. 226.<sup>8</sup>

W[illelmu]s rex Anglorum T[home]<sup>9</sup> archiepiscopo et E[rnio]s vicecomiti et omnibus tarcinis<sup>10</sup> Francigenis et Anglicis de Euroicira

<sup>1</sup> Extended from *E.Y.C.*, no. 270, a charter to the same house by another donor of land in York, in which at least twelve of the witnesses are the same.

<sup>2</sup> Not *Graham* as pd. *ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ingolf, ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *E.Y.C.*, no. 179.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 185. In the charter printed above the grantor speaks of the church and half-carucate as having been given by 'his predecessors.'

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 197.

<sup>7</sup> *Cal. Ch. Rolls*, 1257-1300, pp. 448-9.

<sup>8</sup> Davis also gives a transcript from MS. Dodsworth lxiii, f. 4 of apparently the same charter, but this is of inferior value to the text printed above (*Regesta*, p. 138).

<sup>9</sup> *J.*, MS.

<sup>10</sup> Marked for correction in MS.; the word (as Farrer notes) may be allied to *targa*, a shield; hence shield-bearer; he suggests that the corrected word would have been *baronibus*. In Dodsw. this is *tenentibus*.

salutem. Sciatis me dedisse Alano comiti sanctum Olavum et Cliftonam et quicquid ad ecclesiam et ad manerium pertinet, et volo ut honorifice habeat.

At the Survey count Alan held  $9\frac{1}{2}$  carucates in Clifton, near York, which had constituted a manor held by Morcar; the remaining  $8\frac{1}{2}$  carucates in the vill being held by the canons of St. Peter of York. To the manor of count Alan in Clifton belonged the following soke—Water Fulford,  $1\frac{3}{8}$  car.; Escrick, 4 car.; 'Chetelstorp' [in Escrick], 4 car.; Langwith,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  car.; Kelfield,  $2\frac{1}{4}$  car.; Moreby, 1 car.; Deighton, 4 car. It is evident therefore that this charter was issued before the date of the Survey. Farrer notes that Erneis de Burun was sheriff of Yorkshire in succession to Hugh son of Baldric, about the period 1080-86. A writ of William I for the abbot of Selby was addressed to him.<sup>1</sup>

It is probable that the district afterwards known as Bootham passed to count Alan by this gift; this with the church of St. Olave he included in his gift to St. Mary's.<sup>2</sup> In the plea in 1275 between the abbey and the citizens of York it was found that Bootham was "the abbot's borough by gift of Alan, sometime earl of Richmond, to Stephen, sometime abbot, and his successors, confirmed by charters of king William son of the Conqueror, and other kings."<sup>3</sup> Several charters relating to Bootham have been printed in *E.Y.C.*, nos. 260 *et seq.*;<sup>4</sup> and see no. 118 below. For the gift of Clifton to St. Mary's see notes to no. 2 above.

#### (vi) ESCRICK

102. Record of the restoration by Savaric, abbot of St. Mary's, York, to Picot de Lascelles, son of Roger, of 6 carucates of land in 'Ketelestorp' and Escrick, to hold by hereditary right, rendering yearly 30s.; with the reservation to the abbey of 3 wagons and 140 pigs in the wood of the vill. [c. 1145-61]

Chartulary of St. Mary's, York (John Rylands Library, Latin MS. 220), f. 159.

Item, iij.<sup>a</sup> carta et in eodem folio (xxv.<sup>o</sup>) est quedam carta per quam Savaricus abbas sancte Marie Eboraci cum assensu capituli sui reddidit Picoto de Lascelis filio Rogeri jure hereditario tenere de eis sex carucatas terre in Ketelestorp' et in Eskric cum pertinenciis suis etc. Reddet autem idem Picotus et heredes sui pro supradicta terra quam videlicet tenebit sicut alii francenentes nostri qui hereditarie terras suas de predictis abbate et conventu tenent unoquoque anno xxx.<sup>la</sup> solidos ad festa Pentecostes et Martini. Preterea sciendum est quod dicti abbas et

<sup>1</sup> *Selby Coucher*, i, 25; and see the reference to him as sheriff in *ibid.* p. [17].

<sup>2</sup> See notes to no. 2 above, and also the notes given in *E.Y.C.*, i, 267. For Bootham see *ibid.*, p. 214 and Drake, *Eboracum*, p. 256.

<sup>3</sup> Full details of the plea are given in an 'inspeximus' in 1334 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1334-38, p. 15). For other references to count Alan's gift of Bootham see *ibid.*, 1313-17, pp. 681, 692.

<sup>4</sup> Among Farrer's Richmond MS. is the text of no. 274 taken from *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1429-36, p. 363; this gives the full list of witnesses, only the first witness having been printed at no. 274.



conventus imperpetuum habebunt tres quadrigas semper in bosco ejusdem ville ad lignaria sua facienda ubicumque voluerint sine impedimento. Similiter autem habebunt in eodem bosco centum et quadraginta porcos nil omnino pro eis alicui redditos, cum aliis privilegiis, prout in eadem carta plenius specificantur etc.

'Chetelstorp' [in Escrick], 4 car., and Escrick, 4 car., were in the soke of Clifton, near York, and were held by count Alan in demesne in 1086. Count Stephen included 'Chetellestorp' and 2 carucates in Escrick in his gift to St. Mary's, York (no. 4). The present charter, which shows that the Lascelles family had been enfeoffed of these 6 carucates by the abbey, was probably issued soon after Picot de Lascelles succeeded his father so as to confirm his inheritance as a tenant of the abbey. The notes on the Lascelles family in Chapter V, §6 will suggest that Picot succeeded before the death of earl Alan in 1146. The latest date for this charter is 1161, when abbot Savaric died. The manor of Escrick descended in the Lascelles family.<sup>1</sup> In 1284-85 the vill was included in the liberty of St. Mary's.<sup>2</sup> The wood of Picot de Lascelles in Escrick and Ketelesthorp is mentioned in a case heard in 1253.<sup>3</sup>

103. Notification by Roger de Lascels that Robert, abbot of St. Mary's, York, had granted to him and his heirs 6 carucates of land in 'Ketelesthorp' and Escrick which Picot his father and his other ancestors had held of the abbey, rendering yearly 30s.; with the reservation to the abbey of specified rights. [1184-1213]

MS. Dodsworth lxxvi, f. 64, being a fragment of a chartulary of St. Mary's, York, formerly in the Hatton library.<sup>4</sup>

Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit Rogerus de Lascels salutem in Domino. Noverit universitas vestra quod Robertus abbas monasterii sancte Marie Eboraci et ejusdem loci conventus concesserunt mihi et heredibus meis tenere de eis in feodo et hereditate sex carucatas terre in Ketelesthorp et in Eskeryk cum omnibus pertinenciis suis quas pater meus Pycotus et alii antecessores mei de predicto monasterio sancte Marie Eboraci tenuerunt. Ego autem et heredes mei predictam terram tenebimus sicut alii libere tenentes qui hereditarie terras suas de predicto monasterio tenent, reddendo annuatim triginta solidos ad duos terminos, scilicet dimidium ad Pentecosten et dimidium ad festum sancti Martini pro omni servicio. Preterea sciendum est quod monachi monasterii predicti imperpetuum tres caretas cum duodecim bobus, scilicet quatuor in una et quatuor in alia et quatuor in tercia in proprios usus semper habebunt in bosco

<sup>1</sup> Several details about the manor are given in the article on Lascelles in *Complete Peerage*, new ed., vol. vii.

<sup>2</sup> *Feudal Aids*, vi, 35. In 1323 Isabel widow of Roger de Lascelles had held the manor of Escrick of the abbot of St. Mary's, York, by service of 30s. and suit of court (*Cal. Inq. p. m.*, vi, 251). This rent is the same as in the charter printed above.

<sup>3</sup> *Mon. Notes*, i, 93.

<sup>4</sup> There is an abbreviated notice of the grant by abbot Robert to Roger de Lascels, without witnesses, in the Chartulary in John Rylands Library, f. 159.



predictarum villarum ad lignarium suum faciendum de mortuo bosco ubicunque voluerint sine impedimento mei vel meorum, ita tamen quod predictas tres caretas nec vendere nec ad firmam ponere nec alii aliquo modo concedere sine assensu mei et heredum meorum poterunt, si autem casu fortuito contingat quod predictae caretas illorum in prefato bosco frangantur licebit illis per visum forestarii mei vel heredum meorum in illo bosco bona fide et sine fraude tantum capere quantum ad illarum reparacionem suffecerit; similiter autem in eodem bosco septies viginti porcos ad pessum habebunt, nihil omnino. . . .<sup>1</sup> reddentes; sciantque tam presentes quam posterius quod predicti monachi habent in manu sua unum toftum et croftum in prefata villa de Eskeryk quantum due bovatæ terre ibi noscuntur habere, in quo homo eorum a me et heredibus meis ex toto liber remanebit, qui etiam de porcis eorum et de predictis xij. bobus ad tres caretas predictas trahendas deputatis curam habebit; illud tamen notum sit quod in propriis pecoribus eorum communam bosci et predictarum villarum sine consensu mei et heredum meorum non habebunt exceptis sepedictis duodecim bobus et porcis eorum et pecoribus illis qui predicti hominis eorum erunt. Hiis testibus, Roberto du Val, Londoniensis ecclesie thesaurario, Roberto Mautelent, magistro Ricardo de Beuerlaco, etc.

Picot de Lascelles died before Michaelmas 1179, when Roger his son was under age, and Roger was still under age at Michaelmas 1182.<sup>2</sup> He died shortly before Oct. 1219.<sup>3</sup> It would be reasonable to suppose that abbot Robert was Robert de Harpham, who succeeded abbot Clement in 1184 and appears to have been deposed in 1195,<sup>4</sup> and that the charter was issued shortly after Roger became of full age. But the abbot may have been Robert de Longchamp, who was appointed in 1197, though his name is usually given in full. In any event the years 1184 and 1219 give the extreme limits of date for the charter, with a period between 1195 and 1197 during the vacancy in the abbacy being ruled out. No mention of Robert du Val as treasurer of St. Paul's is made by Newcourt or Hennessy,<sup>5</sup> nor, apparently, in the MSS. of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's.<sup>6</sup> Godfrey occurs as treasurer in a charter dated 1162,<sup>7</sup> and in another to which the date c. 1170 is assigned.<sup>8</sup> Henry occurs as treasurer in a charter earlier than 1180,<sup>9</sup> in another dated 1191<sup>10</sup> and in others c. 1196 and c. 1197,<sup>11</sup> in the last being called Henry Banastre. Peter was treasurer in 1213, and was alive in 1226.<sup>12</sup> Robert du Val was therefore treasurer earlier than 1213, and would appear to have held the office as successor to Henry during the period 1197-1213. This, therefore, must be regarded as the most likely period

<sup>1</sup> MS. damaged.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Newcourt, *Repertorium*, i, p. 11.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.

<sup>5</sup> Newcourt, *op. cit.*, i, 508.

This reference and the assignment of date has been kindly supplied by Miss M. Gibbs, who has suggested that Robert du Val may be the Robert the treasurer who occurs in the list of prebendaries of Islington, given by Newcourt (*op. cit.*, i, 165), as predecessor of Peter the treasurer.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 24, 27.

<sup>2</sup> See Chapter V, §6.

<sup>4</sup> *V.C.H. Yorks.*, iii, 111.

<sup>5</sup> *Hist. MSS. Comm., App. to 9th Rep.*

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 24.

<sup>7</sup> This reference and the assignment of date has been kindly supplied by Miss M. Gibbs, who has suggested that Robert du Val may be the Robert the treasurer who occurs in the list of prebendaries of Islington, given by Newcourt (*op. cit.*, i, 165), as predecessor of Peter the treasurer.

<sup>10</sup> *Hist. MSS. Comm., loc. cit.*, p. 32.

<sup>11</sup> Newcourt, *op. cit.*, i, 103.

for the present charter, unless there were two treasurers of St. Paul's named Henry, and Robert du Val came in between them—but this is a supposition, for which there is a complete absence of evidence.

104. Gift by Robert Tortemeyns to the abbey of St. Mary, York, of all his right in 2 carucates of land in Escrick, which Roger de Lascelles had formerly held of him, and of all the service which the said Roger had been wont to do, namely, a pound of pepper yearly.

MS. Dodsworth lxxvi, f. 64, being a fragment of a chartulary of St. Mary's, York, formerly in the Hatton library.<sup>1</sup>

Omnibus Christi fidelibus has literas visuris vel auditoris Robertus Tortemeyns salutem in Domino. Sciant me pro salute anime mee concessisse, dedisse et hac presenti carta mea confirmasse Deo et ecclesie sancte Marie Eboraci et monachis ibidem Deo [servientibus]<sup>2</sup> totum jus quod habui in duabus carucatis terre in villa de Eskeryk cum pertinentiis quas Rogerus de Lascels aliquando de me tenuit et totum servicium quod idem Rogerus debuit et solebat michi inde facere, scilicet unam libram piperis per annum in Nativitate sancti Johannis Baptiste reddendam; habendum et tenendum de me et heredibus meis in puram, liberam et perpetuam elemosinam. Et ut hec donacio mea firma et stabilis inperpetuum permaneat hoc presens scriptum sigilli mei appositione roboravi. Hiis testibus, Thoma de Wilton, tunc senescallo, *of the Abbey* Henrico filio Conani, Willelmo filio Thome, etc.

Robert Tortemeyns was of Newton-le-Willows, par. Patrick Brompton. Some charters issued by him will be printed among those relating to the Middleham fee in Chapter V, §41. He was a party to a fine of land in Newton in 1194.<sup>3</sup>

Roger de Lascelles, as noted above, died shortly before Oct. 1219. It seems probable that this charter was issued after his death, and the name of the first witness, who was steward of the abbey, suggests a date not earlier than the reign of Henry III.<sup>4</sup> Consideration must, however, be given to a record of a charter by which R[obert] de Longo Campo, abbot of St. Mary's, with the assent of the chapter, gave to Roger de Lascels and his heirs 2 carucates of land in Eskric, rendering yearly a pound of cumin at Whitsuntide for all service; no witnesses named.<sup>5</sup> The date is between 1197 and Oct. 1219. It is reasonable to suppose that these were the same 2 carucates as are mentioned in the charter of Robert Tortemeyns; and, but for the sug-

<sup>1</sup> There is an abbreviated notice of this charter, without witnesses, in the Chartulary in John Rylands Library, f. 159.

<sup>2</sup> MS. damaged.

<sup>3</sup> Easby Chartulary, f. 282. For his connection with Newton-le-Willows see *V.C.H., N.R.*, i, 336.

<sup>4</sup> This suggestion is derived from some manuscript notes on ecclesiastical and other dignitaries given to the present editor by Farrer, in which he assigned 1220-40 as the date for the tenure of Thomas de Wilton as steward of St. Mary's abbey. As steward he witnessed a charter of John de Bulmer to the abbey (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1429-36, p. 363); but that charter is not easy to date.

<sup>5</sup> Chartulary in John Rylands Library, f. 159.

gestions made above, they might have been given direct to Roger after Robert's surrender. However this may be, they were evidently additional to the 6 carucates originally held of the abbey by the Lascelles family, the total of 8 carucates which was the original combined assessment of Escrick and 'Ketelestorp' being thus accounted for.

(vii) FOSTON

105. Restoration by Geoffrey, abbot of St. Mary's, York, to Uctred son of Ulkil de Foston of 2 carucates of land in Foston, rendering yearly 6s. 8d.; being part of 4 carucates which Ulkil had granted, after whose death Uctred had quitclaimed 2 carucates.

[c. 1121-c. 1137]

Farrer MS., from Chartulary of St. Mary's, York (Dean and Chapter), f. 168d (old f. 78d); MS. Dodsworth ix, f. 65d; clvi, f. 15d, from the same.<sup>1</sup>

Omnibus videntibus vel audientibus has literas Gosfridus et tota congregatio monachorum ecclesie sancte Marie Eboraci salutem. Sciatis Ulkillum de Foston concessisse nobis ad censum quatuor carrucatas terre in eadem villa; post mortem ejus Uctredus filius ejus ex certis et rationabilibus causis clamavit . . . . . ecclesie nostre quietas et solutas duas carrucatas ad faciendum inde quid [? voluerimus], ut nos concessimus et reddidimus eidem Uctredo duas carrucatas terre nostre in eadem villa in feudo et hereditario jure, ita ut unoquoque anno reddet nobis pro eadem terra sex solidos et octo denarios ad Pentecosten et ad festum sancti Martini, preter alia servitia que juste pertinent ad feodum. Testibus, Daniele dapifero, Seman, Wlmaro, Steinolf? clerico, Petro . . . . [? Her]berti capellani, Henrico famulo, Alano portario, Willelmo dispensatore, . . . filio Benedicti, Siwardo de Fulford, Radulfo de Harton, Benedicto [de] Elmewella et Waltero fratre ejus, Rodberto de Miton, Thoma de Flamma[villa], Ranulpho de Huos, Alwino presbitero, Romundo, Turstino aurifice.

At the Survey count Alan held 8 carucates in Foston (wap. Bulmer), with soke in four places. Count Stephen included Foston in his gift to St. Mary's (no. 4). In 1167 "Fostun, of the abbot of York" was amerced 10s.<sup>2</sup> In 1316 it was included in the liberty of St. Mary's.<sup>3</sup>

The precise dates when Geoffrey became abbot of St. Mary's, and when he was succeeded by abbot Savaric are uncertain. In the list of abbots prefixed to the Chronicle<sup>4</sup> it is stated that Richard, the second abbot, died 'pridie Jan.' 1131, that 'Godfridus' (evidently an error for 'Gosfridus,' i.e., Geoffrey) was elected in that year and died 17 July 1132, and that Savaric was elected in 1132 and died 3 April 1161. The conclusion from these details is that Geoffrey was only abbot for eighteen months. The dates

<sup>1</sup> Several witnesses omitted in Dodsw. The Chartulary MS. is defective, the left hand side having suffered from fire.

<sup>2</sup> *Pipe Roll 13 Hen. II*, p. 97.

<sup>3</sup> *Feudal Aids*, vi, 204.

<sup>4</sup> In Bodley MS. 39, pd. in *Chronicle of St. Mary's Abbey, York* (Surtees Soc., vol. 148), p. 1.

cannot, however, be trusted.<sup>1</sup> On the one hand Geoffrey was abbot in 1122 and 1128.<sup>2</sup> On the other, while it seems quite clear that he was abbot when the movement took place at St. Mary's which led to the foundation of Fountains in 1132, he was certainly still in office as abbot after the latter foundation took effect, for the first two witnesses to a charter of archbishop Thurstan to Whitby abbey were Geoffrey (*Gosfridus*), abbot of York, and Richard de Fontibus,<sup>3</sup> there being no reasonable doubt that the latter was Richard, first abbot of Fountains. It is difficult to reconcile this evidence with the date 17 July 1132 given for his death.<sup>4</sup> But there is no satisfactory evidence as to his subsequent length of tenure. Farrer, who considered the dates of the early abbots of St. Mary's in great detail,<sup>5</sup> evidently came to the conclusion that abbot Savaric succeeded abbot Geoffrey *c.* 1137.<sup>6</sup> Unless therefore, other evidence is forthcoming the period *c.* 1121-*c.* 1137 may be assigned for Geoffrey's abbacy.<sup>7</sup> It will be noticed that he witnessed a charter of count Stephen at York in the period 1125-35 (no. 8 above), and that there is some slight evidence that the actual year was 1133.

## (viii) GILMONBY

106. Gift by Savaric, abbot of St. Mary's, York, to Ralph the sheriff of land near Bowes, called Gilmonby, which Conan, earl of Richmond, had given to the abbey; rendering yearly 20s. and finding good lodging, fire, straw, hay and grass for the monks and their servants wishing to lodge there. [c. 1154-61]

Farrer MS., from Chartulary of St. Mary's, York (Dean and Chapter), f. 277 (old f. 217); (Harl. MS. 236), f. 36d (old f. 39d); MS. Dodsworth<sup>8</sup> ix, f. 75d; clvi, f. 49.

Sciunt omnes qui legerint vel audierint literas has quod ego S[avaricus] abbas ecclesie sancte Marie Eboraci cum communi consilio et assensu capituli nostri concessi et dedi R[adulfo] vicecomiti et heredibus suis tenere de nobis in feudo et hereditate terram illam juxta Bohas que vocatur Gilmanebey<sup>9</sup> cum omnibus pertinenciis suis, quam dedit ecclesie nostre in puram elemosinam Con[anus] comes Richem[undie],<sup>10</sup> sicut eam in die habuimus quando ei concessa est, ita libere et quiete sicut alii francitenentes nostri de nobis tenent. Concedimus etiam ad jus suum pertinere quicquid sua vel nostra industria in eadem tenura poterit adlescere.<sup>11</sup> Reddent autem idem Radulfus et heredes

<sup>1</sup> In another detail the list is wrong. Abbot Robert de Longchamp was appointed in 1197 and not 1189 (see *V.C.H. Yorks.*, iii, 111).

<sup>2</sup> *Historians of Ch. of York* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 199; iii, 51-2, quoted in *V.C.H. Yorks.*, iii, 111.

<sup>3</sup> *Whitby Chartulary*, i, 163.

<sup>4</sup> See Walbran's observations on this point in *Memorials of Fountains*, i, 33n.

<sup>5</sup> His conclusions, with the dates 1121-37 for abbot Geoffrey, are given in the manuscript mentioned in the note on p. 135 above. But unfortunately he gives no reference for the date 1137.

<sup>6</sup> See, for example, the dates assigned to nos. 621, 627, 628 in *E.Y.C.*

<sup>7</sup> If 1121 is accepted the date MCXXXI for abbot Richard's death as given in the list can be amended by the deletion of one x.

<sup>8</sup> Abstracts only.

<sup>9</sup> *Gillemanebey*, Harl.

<sup>10</sup> *de Richem[undia]*, Harl.

<sup>11</sup> *accrescere*, Harl.



sui pro eadem terra annuatim ecclesie nostre xx.<sup>ti</sup> solidos, dimidium ad Pentecosten et dimidium ad festum sancti Martini. Illud quoque sciendum est quod invenient unum hospitium honestum et ignem et stramenta sufficientia et fenum et herbam in tempore suo monachis et servientibus nostris qui ibidem voluerint hospitari. Hoc autem eis concedimus quamdiu se legaliter erga nos habuerint et prefatum censum bene reddiderint; si autem vi vel ratione predictam terram amiserint non dabimus eis excambium.

Gale prints the record of an inquisition of a much later date in which it is stated that Alan, earl of Richmond, gave to St. Mary's, York, the vill of Gilmonby by Bowes with common of pasture in exchange for a wood near Richmond called 'le Erles Orchard' opposite the castle of Richmond beyond the Swale towards the south; giving the bounds of the common.<sup>1</sup> It is probable, in view of the present charter, that the gift was actually made by earl Conan. But it is not mentioned in earl Conan's confirmation charter to the abbey, 1156-58 (no. 33 above), and may therefore have been a later gift. In any case such a gift must have been made before the date of the present charter. In charter no. 28, to which the date *c.* 1154-55 is assigned, it is apparent that earl Conan was not then of an age to hold land. The date when he was in a position to make the gift of Gilmonby to St. Mary's must therefore have been later than the date of no. 28, and the date of the present charter later still. The latest date is 1161, when abbot Savaric died. The assessment of the vill was one carucate (no. 108).

The grantee was possibly the same man as Ralph *vicecomes* of Ainderby who made gifts to Fountains abbey of land in Ainderby [Quernhow], and who witnessed a charter to that house of land in Balderby.<sup>2</sup> Ralph le Vescunte of Ainderby, mentioning his wife Oriota, was a benefactor of Newburgh priory.<sup>3</sup> Ainderby Quernhow was known as Ainderby Vesconte in the thirteenth century.<sup>4</sup> Ralph *vicecomes*, with the consent of Oriolda his wife and William his son and heir, gave to Thomas son of Robert son of Elinand in marriage with Cecily his daughter and the heirs of Cecily's body a carucate in Scotton and 6 bovates in Brunton [Brompton-on-Swale]; these lands had been given by Harsculf de Cleasby, brother of 'Oriota,' in marriage.<sup>5</sup> His wife's name Oriolda or Oriota proves the identity of this Ralph the sheriff with Ralph the sheriff (of Ainderby). In 1208 William le Bret and Oriolda his wife gave a moiety of 7 carucates in Ainderby [Quernhow] and Kirklington to Geoffrey de Pikehal and Christian his wife and Thomas de Berton [Barton] and Cecily his wife, and the heirs of Christian and Cecily, saving the dower of Alice, Oriolda's mother; the land being held in right of Oriolda.<sup>6</sup> As Alice

<sup>1</sup> Gale, p. 100.

<sup>2</sup> *Fountains Chartulary*, pp. 2, 91.

<sup>3</sup> MS. Dodsworth xcv, f. 34d. His charter will be printed under Ainderby Quernhow in Chapter V.

<sup>4</sup> *Place-Names of N.R.*, p. 223.

<sup>5</sup> *Easby Chartulary*, ff. 226d, 227. Ralph *vicecomes* was a benefactor of Easby abbey, giving 2 acres in Brompton (*ibid.*, f. 225d).

<sup>6</sup> *Yorks. Fines*, John, p. 116 (damaged); and for a more perfect text see *Fountains Chartulary*, i, 4. There are several references to this matter during the period 1205-1208 in *Curia Regis Rolls*, vols. iv, v. It is curious that these indicate that William le Bret was dead, and Oriolda a widow.

widow of William *vicecomes* was living in 1210,<sup>1</sup> and as Ralph *vicecomes* had a son William by his wife Oriolda, as noted above, the descent seems clear, Christian and Cecily being daughters of Ralph, Thomas de Barton being the same as Thomas son of Robert son of Elinand, and the younger Oriolda being daughter and heir of William.<sup>2</sup>

It may be seen from the evidence supplied by charter no. 93 above and no. 121 below that a Ralph de Valognes was holding the office of sheriff of Richmond in the period 1174-81. But there appears to be no evidence to prove his identity with the Ralph *vicecomes* of the present charter or with Ralph *vicecomes* of Ainderby.<sup>3</sup>

107. Gift by Clement, abbot of St. Mary's, York, to Warin de Scargill of 6 bovates of land in Gilmonby; rendering yearly 12s. and finding suitable lodging for the abbot and monks and their servants, with fire and straw and hay and grass for their horses; Warin to have 2 other bovates at a rent of 4s. should the monks wish to put them to farm. [1161-75]

Farrer MS., from Chartulary of St. Mary's, York (Dean and Chapter), f. 277 (old f. 217); (Harl. MS. 236), f. 36d (old f. 39d).

Sciunt omnes qui viderint vel audierint litteras has quod ego Clemens abbas ecclesie beate Marie Eboraci cum communi consilio et assensu capituli nostri concessi et dedi Warino de Scachelgilla et heredibus suis tenere de nobis hereditario jure sex bovatas terre in Gilmanby<sup>4</sup> cum omnibus pertinenciis suis, reddendo nobis annuatim xij.<sup>elm</sup> solidos, dimidium videlicet ad Pentecosten et dimidium in festo beati Martini. Sciendum vero est quod idem Warinus in predicta villa de Gilmanby quoddam ydoneum hospitium de suo sumptu faciet ubi abbas Eboraci et monachi et sui servientes honeste valeant hospitari ibique ignem et stramenta, fenum quoque et herbam equis suis pro suis temporibus eodem W[arino] ministrante sufficienter habebunt. Duas quidem bovatas quas in manu nostra retinemus, si alicui ad firmam dimittere voluerimus, idem W[arinus] eas sicut ceteras tenebit pro quatuor solidis donec iterum illas in manu nostra velimus habere. Hoc autem ei et heredibus suis concedimus quamdiu se legaliter erga nos habuerint et bene reddiderint prefatum censum. Si vero forte contigerit eos eandem terram vi vel iudicio amittere non dabimus eis excambium.

It is evident that Ralph the sheriff must have resigned his interest in the vill before this gift to Warin de Scargill was made. In 1172 work costing 224*li.* was done at the castle of Bowes by the view of Torfin son of Robert,

<sup>1</sup> *Fountains Chartulary*, i, 11, where she is given as daughter of William de Hornebi.

<sup>2</sup> There are several other charters in the Ainderby section of the *Fountains Chartulary* recording gifts made by members of the family; see vol. i of the printed edition, pp. 2-11.

<sup>3</sup> The identification of the grantee of the present charter with Ranulf de Glanville, sheriff [of Yorkshire], as given in *V.C.H., N.R.*, i, 46, is undoubtedly an error.

<sup>4</sup> *Gillemanby*, Harl.

Wallef de Bereford, and Warin de Scakregill.<sup>1</sup> Next year 100*li.* was similarly expended.<sup>2</sup> In 1174 a chamber was built in the castle, the gates were repaired and the tower strengthened against the coming of the king of Scots at a cost of 44*li.* 16*s.* 6*d.* by the view of Waldef and Warin de Scakergill.<sup>3</sup> Warin probably died before Michaelmas 1175 when 10 marks was due from Miles de Scakergill for the fine of his land in the honour.<sup>4</sup> In 1177 Miles son of Warin de Scakergill accounted for 4*li.* for the right of one of his men.<sup>5</sup> At Michaelmas 1189 he rendered account of 5 marks for having the right of half a knight's fee in Fulbeck, Lincs., late of Robert son of William, whose next heir was Juliane his wife, as he said.<sup>6</sup>

108. Gift by Clement, abbot of St. Mary's, York, to Hastwin de Bowes of half a carucate of land in Gilmonby, being a half of the vill, rendering yearly 8*s.*; in return Hastwin and John his heir quitclaimed the other moiety of the vill. [1161-84]

Farrer MS., from Chartulary of St. Mary's, York (Dean and Chapter), f. 277 (old f. 217); (Harl. MS. 236), f. 36d (old f. 39d).

Notum sit omnibus videntibus vel audientibus litteras has quod ego C[lemens] abbas ecclesie sancte Marie Eboraci cum communi consilio et assensu capituli nostri concessi et dedi Haswino de Boghes et heredibus suis tenere de nobis hereditarie, libere et quiete dimidiam carucatam terre in Gilmanby<sup>7</sup> cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, que est dimidia pars ejusdem ville. Reddent vero nobis predictus Hastwinus et heredes ejus annuatim pro eadem terra viij. solidos, dimidium ad Pentecosten et dimidium in festo sancti Martini pro omni servicio ad nos pertinente. Sciendum vero est quod quando hoc eis concessimus prefatus Hastwinus et Johannes heres ejus quietam nobis clamaverunt alteram medietatem predictae ville cum omnibus pertinentiis suis a se et omnibus suis imperpetuum. Hoc vero eis concedimus quamdiu se legaliter erga nos habuerint et predictum censum bene reddiderint. Si vero contigerit eos predictam terram vi vel ratione amittere non dabimus eis excambium. [Testibus], Joscel[ino] capellano, Rogero diacono, Gaufrido de Ketelesby, Stephano de Miton, Ricardo de Schupton,<sup>8</sup> Ricardo de Clifton, et aliis plurimis.

The extreme limits of date are those given above, which are fixed by the tenure of Clement as abbot of St. Mary's. It is uncertain whether the interest of the Bowes family under the abbey arose before or after that of the Scargill family. The tenure at a simple money rent without the conditions of hospitality laid down in the preceding two charters points to the latter.

<sup>1</sup> *Pipe Roll* 18 *Hen. II.*, p. 55.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 19 *Hen. II.*, p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 20 *Hen. II.*, p. 49.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 21 *Hen. II.*, p. 6.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 23 *Hen. II.*, p. 81.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 1 *Ric. I.*, p. 84.

<sup>7</sup> *Gillemanby*, Harl.

<sup>8</sup> *Hupperton*, Harl.



## (ix) KNEETON

109. Gift by Adam de Kneeton to the church of St. Michael, Middleton [Tyas] of a bovate of land in Kneeton, with a toft: for this gift Robert de Longchamp, abbot of St. Mary's, York, granted him licence to have divine service in the chapel of St. James, Kneeton, subject to the rights of the mother church of Middleton [Tyas] and to the attendance of Adam and his family at the mother church on feast days. [1197-1239]

MS. Dodsworth lxxvi, f. 57d, being a fragment of a chartulary of St. Mary's, York, formerly in the Hatton library.

Omnibus sancte matris ecclesie filiis ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit ego Adam de Kneton<sup>1</sup> salutem. Noverit universitas vestra me [dedisse et concessisse et hoc presenti]<sup>2</sup> scripto confirmasse in elemosinam Deo et ecclesie sancti Mich[aelis de Middleton unam bovatom]<sup>2</sup> terre in campo de Knetun<sup>1</sup> cum omnibus pertinenciis suis in . . . in pratis, in aquis, in semitis, in viis et omnibus asyamentis que ad eandem bovatom pertinent et unum toftum in eadem villa quod fuit Adam Prudfot, liberam et quietam a me et heredibus meis imperpetuum. Pro hac vero donacione concesserunt mihi et heredibus meis dominus Robertus de Longo Campo abbas sancte Marie Eboraci et conventus ejusdem loci ad quos donacio prescripte ecclesie pertinet, cum consilio et assensu personarum predictae ecclesie de Middleton celebrationem divini officii quarta et sexta feria in ebdomada in capella sancti Jacobi de Kneton,<sup>1</sup> salvo tamen honore matricis ecclesie de Middelt[on]. Et sciendum est quod persone de Middelt[on] qui ibidem ministrant prefatum officium capelle predictae invenient nec erit aliquis qui in ea celebrabit nisi voluntate et concessione personaliter prescripte ecclesie. In festis vero diebus sicut mos est ad ecclesiam matricem ego et heredes mei veniemus cum tota familia nostra et omnia que ad nos pertinent plenarie persolvebimus. Et ego Adam tactis sacrosanctis juravi in capitulo sancte Marie Eboraci quod nec per me vel aliquem meorum agam quod in prejudicium matricis ecclesie de Midelt[un] evenire possit. Hiis testibus, Johanne priore Eboraci, Hugone suppriori, Henrico Papedy, Rogero de Richem[undia], etc.

Adam de Kneeton was son of Elsi de Kneeton (see no. 115). He had succeeded his father before 1184, when he paid 2s. wapentake fine.<sup>3</sup> Some notes relating to Kneeton, and to the gift made by Adam of a bovate to the chapel of Kneeton for the chantry, as recorded in an inquisition dating from the early part of the thirteenth century, are given at no. 110. The gift was probably made early in the period during which Robert de Longchamp was abbot of St. Mary's, 1197-1239.

## (x) MIDDLETON TYAS

110. Confirmation by William son of Meldred [de Middleton] to Easby abbey of all the land which his father had given in the moor

<sup>1</sup> *Keton*, *Ketun*, MS., clearly in error.

<sup>2</sup> MS. damaged; conjectural restorations.

<sup>3</sup> Gale, p. 21.



of Middleton [Tyas], where the canons' grange was, and of pasture for 100 sheep and other animals. [1168-84]

Easby Chartulary, Egerton MS. 2827, f. 57.

Archiepiscopo Eboracensi et omnibus sancte ecclesie filiis tam presentibus quam futuris W[illelmus] filius Meldredi salutem. Sciatis me dedisse et concessisse et hac mea carta confirmasse Deo et sancte Agathe et canonicis ibidem Deo servientibus totam terram quam pater meus eis dederat in mora Middelton', ubi grangia eorum sita est, a fossa versus north usque ad magnam stratam versus orientem et per divisas Scythebie; et pasturam centum ovibus et x. animalibus et bubus carucarum que ibi sunt et equis terram trahentibus et quinque suibus et earum fetibus; tenendas de me in puram et perpetuam elemosinam de me et heredibus meis, liberam et quietam ab omni servicio et auxilio et exaccione et consuetudine, pro salute anime mee et pro animabus antecessorum et heredum meorum. Et si quis eos de hac mea elemosina impedire presumpserit, malediccionem Dei et meam habeat. T[estibus].

This charter is followed by a confirmation by Thomas son of William de Midelton of the above land which had been given by Meldred his grandfather and confirmed by William his father. There is also a confirmation by Richard son of Thomas de Midelton, grandson of William son of Meldred (f. 57d).

At the Conquest Ulf held the manors of Middleton Tyas, 6 carucates, and Kneeton, 8 carucates. His son Uctred held them at the Survey; and he gave the church of Middleton to Wetheral in Cumberland, a cell of St. Mary's, York (see note to no. 8). In 1158 earl Conan confirmed the agreement made by Meldred and Gilomichael de Middleton<sup>1</sup> and Elsi de Kneeton with Fountains abbey in respect of land in the moor of Middleton (no. 45).<sup>2</sup> In 1168 Meldred de Middleton rendered account of half a mark in Yorkshire for a disseisin.<sup>3</sup> In 1175 10*li.* was due from William son of Meldred to have his land restored;<sup>4</sup> he had doubtless participated in the recent rebellion.

Meldred had another son Ralph, who as Ralph son of Meldred or Ralph de Middleton witnessed charters of earl Conan (nos. 47 and 50), and c. 1159 became chamberlain to the earl (see note to no. 50). As Ralph son of Meldred de Middleton he witnessed a charter of the earl as chamberlain, in the period 1159-71 (no. 56). He was the Ralph the chamberlain who witnessed several other charters of the earl.

William son of Meldred was presumably dead in 1184 when Thomas de Midelton paid 12*d.* for wapentake fine, and in the same year 'Gilmychel' paid 9*d.* for 2 car. 6 bov. and Thomas son of William [evidently Thomas de Midelton] paid 12*d.* for 3 car. 6 bov. for sheriff's aid.<sup>5</sup> In 1194 John son of Gillemichel owed 20*s.* for having right of 3 bovates of land in Middleton and Kneeton (*Kinton*, query *Kniton*) against Henry his brother, and Henry

<sup>1</sup> They were brothers; see no. 112.

<sup>2</sup> Archbishop Roger's confirmation of the agreement is included in charter no. 116.

<sup>3</sup> *Pipe Roll 14 Hen. II*, p. 86.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 21 *Hen. II*, p. 6.

<sup>5</sup> *Gale*, pp. 21, 22.

son of Gillemichel owed half a mark for a disseisin.<sup>1</sup> In 1208 Robert son of William de Meddleton quitclaimed to Richard son of Thomas [de Middleton] his right in a carucate of land in Kneeton.<sup>2</sup> In 1209 Henry de Middleton [son of Gillemichel] obtained licence to bring his suit into the king's court against John de Middleton touching the land of Middleton and Kneeton.<sup>3</sup> 1211 Two years later Richard de Middleton, son of Thomas, gave to Gilbert son of Roger son of Reinfred before the barons of the exchequer, for his homage and service, all the land of Middleton and Kneeton, to hold by doing forinsec service for 3½ carucates, whereof 12 car. made a knight's fee; for this Gilbert gave Richard 100 marks to enable him to discharge a debt due to the king for certain debts due to the Jews.<sup>4</sup> At some date later than 1201, as Roald the constable was a witness, Richard son of Thomas de Middleton gave to St. Mary's, York, 2 bovates and other land in Kneeton.<sup>5</sup> In 1212 Henry de Middleton was amerced 10 marks for forest trespass.<sup>6</sup> In 1235 Thomas de Middleton acknowledged that 2 carucates in Middleton and Kneeton were the right of William de Lancaster, to hold of the said Thomas.<sup>7</sup> In 1284-85 details are given of about 7 carucates in Middleton Tyas, including half a carucate of glebe; of these William de Lyndesy held 4 carucates, and Henry de Midelton 2½ carucates.<sup>8</sup> The former was one of the heirs general of William de Lancaster.<sup>9</sup>

The following particulars are recorded in an inquisition by 12 knights of the wapentake of Gilling, which dates from the early part of the thirteenth century: Alan de Kneton holds 12 librates of land in Kneton and Midelton, doing forinsec service and paying 20s.[?] yearly to the earl; the land does service of drengage, namely, feeding dogs, colts, . . . . of the earl; the said Alan gave 2 bovates in Mideltone worth 20s. to Henry Mansel with Agnes his daughter, and a messuage and 2 bovates there worth 26s. to Gilbert de Neutone with Cecily his daughter, and to Walter his son 2 bovates and 8 acres in Knetone worth 28s., and to Ralph his son one bovat and a toft and croft worth 10s., and to Thomas his son 6 acres and a toft worth 6s., and to the chapel of Kneton one bovat for the chantry,<sup>10</sup> the rector of Midelton holds it and it is worth 10s.; Henry de Mideltone holds 13 [?] librates of land of the earl in Midelton by like service to Alan de Knetone, the abbot of Fountains has 12 acres of the gift of the said Henry's grandfather, worth . . . . .<sup>11</sup>

It is evident that in addition to these lands held by drengage service a portion of the vills of Middleton and Kneeton had been the subject of enfeoffment for military service. In a return which dates from the last years

<sup>1</sup> *Pipe Roll 6 Ric. I*, pp. 158, 162.

<sup>2</sup> *Yorks. Fines, John*, p. 125.

<sup>3</sup> Farrer MS., quoting *Pipe Roll 11 John*.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 13 John; and cf. *V.C.H., N.R.*, i, 192.

<sup>5</sup> Fragment of a chartulary of St. Mary's in Dodsworth MS. lxxvi, f. 58.

<sup>6</sup> Farrer MS., quoting *Pipe Roll 14 John*.

<sup>7</sup> *Lancs. Fines, Part I* (Lancs. and Cheshire Rec. Soc., vol. xxxix), p. 61. This William de Lancaster was son of Gilbert son of Roger son of Reinfred and Helewise de Lancaster (*V.C.H., N.R.*, i, 193).

<sup>8</sup> *Feudal Aids*, vi, pp. 97, 101.

<sup>9</sup> *V.C.H., N.R.*, i, 193.

<sup>10</sup> See no. 109 above.

<sup>11</sup> *Cal. Inq. Misc.*, i, no. 516; *Yorks. Inq.*, i, 267, where the amounts queried above are given as 10s. and 12 librates, and the missing valuation as 12s.

of the twelfth century Thomas son of William held  $\frac{1}{4}$  knight's fee of the new feoffment in Middleton.<sup>1</sup> He was clearly the Thomas son of William de Middleton mentioned above. In 1283  $\frac{1}{4}$  fee in Middleton was held by William de Lindesay and  $\frac{1}{4}$  fee by Henry de Middilton, and in Kneeton and Middleton  $\frac{1}{4}$  fee was held by Alan de Cneton.<sup>2</sup> It has not been found possible with any degree of certainty to allot the charters printed in this section between the drengage and military portions of the vill.<sup>3</sup>

111. Confirmation by William son of Meldred [de Middleton] of the land [in Middleton Tyas] which Fountains abbey had held at farm of Meldred his father for 9d. yearly, as in the charter of the earl of Richmond; for a payment of 2 marks of silver. [1168-84]

Fountains Chartulary, Cotton MS. Tiberius C. xii, f. 314d (old f. 311d). Abst. in *Fountains Chartulary*, p. 194.

Notum sit omnibus literas has videntibus et legentibus quod ego Willelmus filius Meldredi concessi et confirmavi terram illam quam monachi de Fontibus tenuerunt de Meldredo patre meo ad firmam annuatim pro ix. denariis reddendis pro omnibus serviciis in perpetuum, sicut continetur in carta comitis de Richem[undia]. Hanc terram tenebunt monachi liberam et quietam de me et heredibus meis in perpetuum pro ix. denariis. Et ut hoc concederem et confirmarem monachi dederunt michi duas marcas argenti. Hiis testibus, Rogero Tusard, Acaris de Alnabi, Conan de Esc, Henrico filio Gilemichael, Rogero de Multun.

112. Confirmation by Gilomichael de Middleton to Easby abbey of [his] share of the tenement which Meldred his brother, he himself and Elsi had given in the moor of Middleton [Tyas], where the canons' grange was; and, as William his nephew had done, gift of common pasture of the same vill for 100 sheep and other animals. [1168-84]

Easby Chartulary, Egerton MS. 2827, f. 57.

Archiepiscopo Eboracensi et omnibus sancte ecclesie filiis presentibus et futuris Gylemichel de Midelton salutem. Sciatis me dedisse et concessisse et hac mea carta confirmasse Deo et ecclesie sancte Agathe et canonicis ibi Deo servientibus totam partem illius tenure quam Meldredus frater meus et ego et Elsi dedimus eis in mora de Midelt[on], ubi grangia eorum sita est, a fossa versus north usque ad magnam stratam versus orientem per divisas Scythebie. Et insuper ex parte mea, sicut fecit Willelmus nepos meus, communem pasturam de Midelt[on] c. ovibus et decem animalibus et bobus carucarum que ibi fuerint et equis trahentibus et sex suibus et earum fetibus, ut habeant et teneant in puram et perpetuam elemosinam, liberam et quietam ab omni servicio et seculari exaccione. Quam elemosinam ego et heredes mei

<sup>1</sup> *Red Bk.*, p. 588; Gale, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. Inq. p. m.*, ii, 223.

<sup>3</sup> Certainly the Kneeton charter (no. 109) and probably some of the charters issued to Fountains abbey may be allotted to the drengage portions of Kneeton and Middleton.



warantizabimus eisdem canonicis per omnia et contra omnes. Si quis autem eos de hac mea elemosina inpedire presumpserit malediccionem Dei et meam habeat. T[estibus].

There follows a similar confirmation by Adam son of Elsi de Kneton of his share, namely a quarter, the number of animals varying.

113. Gift by Gilomichael de Middleton to Fountains abbey of  $6\frac{1}{2}$  acres of land in Middleton [Tyas]. [c. 1168-94]

Fountains Chartulary, Cotton MS. Tiberius C. xii, f. 312d (old f. 309d). Abst. in *Fountains Chartulary*, p. 193.

Omnibus sancte ecclesie filiis presentibus et futuris Gillemichel de Mideltun salutem. Sciatis me dedisse et hac carta confirmasse Deo et ecclesie sancte Marie de Fontibus, pro salute anime mee et omnium antecessorum meorum, sex acras et dimidiam in campo de Mideltun ad le Stob juxta culturam monachorum ejusdem domus deversus le north. Hanc terram prefate ecclesie dedi in liberam et perpetuam elemosinam, solutam et quietam ab omni servicio et consuetudine et ab omni re que ad terram pertinet. Et ego et heredes mei totam predictam terram prenominate ecclesie guarentabimus et acquietabimus et defendemus contra omnes imperpetuum sicut nostram finalem et liberam elemosinam; ita quod facient monachi de illa quicquid voluerint sicut de sua propria possessione. Hiis testibus, Waltero de Heltun, Herveio de Multun, Henrico herede meo, Alexandro, Cunano et Rogero, fratribus ejus, Johanne de Heltun, magistro Simone de Hormesheued, Herberto de Tibbeteia, Helya Prickescin, Bernardo filio Bernardi, et multis aliis. x

The donor was dead by 1194 (see notes to no. 110).

114. Gift by Gilomichael de Middleton, with the consent of Henry his son and heir, to Fountains abbey of 18 acres of land in Middleton [Tyas]; for a payment of 5 marks of silver and a yearly rent of 12d. [c. 1168-94]

Fountains Chartulary, Cotton MS. Tiberius C. xii, f. 313 (old f. 310). Abst. in *Fountains Chartulary*, p. 193.

Notum sit omnibus sancte ecclesie filiis quod ego Gillemichael de Mideltun, concessu Henrici filii et heredis mei aliorumque heredum meorum, concessi et dedi ecclesie sancte Marie de Fontibus in feudo et perpetua elemosina decem et octo acras terre in campo de Mideltun juxta Holebec. Et sciendum quod pro concessu hujus elemosine dederunt michi monachi v. marcas argenti et unoquoque anno in posterum dabunt michi et heredibus meis duodecim denarios pro omni servicio quod ad terram pertinet. Et ego et heredes mei guarentizabimus eis predictam terram quamdiu nostram terram guarentizare poterimus nobis ipsis. Testes, Radulfus de sancto Martino, Nicho[ph]aus persona de Scerpinbec, Radulfus filius Aldelin, Rogerus de Stodle[ra], Rogerus filius Rogeri, Suanus de Tornetun, Radulfus de Uccherbi, Guillelmus filius Patricii, Rogerus de Multun, Rogerus de Heuic, Guarinus de Scortun, cum aliis multis.



115. Gift by Adam son of Elsi de Kneeton, and Mabel his wife, to Fountains abbey of 10 acres of land in the moor of Middleton [Tyas], for 6*d.* yearly; and pledge by the hand of Uctred de Ascrig, priest, by the donor and his wife, of whose dower it was, to warrant the land, the monks giving 60 sheep to the donor and half a mark of silver to his wife. [c. 1175-1204]

Fountains Chartulary, Cotton MS. Tiberius C. xii, f. 314 (old f. 311). Abst. in *Fountains Chartulary*, p. 194.

Notum sit omnibus sancte ecclesie filiis presentibus et futuris quod ego Adam filius Elsi de Cnetun dedi et super altare optuli Deo et ecclesie sancte Marie de Fontibus decem acras terre in mora de Mideltun, in liberam et perpetuam elemosinam, solute et libere et quiete de omni servicio et consuetudine et omni re que ad terram pertinet, pro recognicione sex denariorum per annum, tres infra octavas Pentecostes et tres infra octavas sancti Martini. Et ego Adam fidem meam affidavi sine dolo et malo ingenio in manu Uctredi de Ascrig presbitteri quod ego et heredes mei totam hanc terram monachis in perpetuum guarentabimus sicut liberam elemosinam nostram. Et ut hoc facerem monachi dederunt michi sexaginta oves. Sciendum eciam quod ego Mabilia uxor Ade, quia predicta terra de dote mea est, eam simul cum domino meo monachis dedi de mea bona voluntate sine omni exaccione domini mei vel alicujus; et ego Mabilia fidem meam affidavi sine dolo et malo ingenio in manu predicti Uctredi presbitteri quod ego hanc donacionem tenebo et ratam habebō in perpetuum. Et ut libenter hoc facerem accepi a monachis in recompensacione dimidiam marcā argenti. Testibus, Radulfo abbate sancte Agathe et ejusdem loci capitulo, Uctredo presbitero de Ascrig, Radulfo diacono de Bernigham, Osberto de Richem[undia], Guillelmo de Valuines, Herm[ero] clerico,<sup>1</sup> Rainaldo filio Ade, Guillelmo de Cnet[un], Rogero Ulkil, Guillelmo de Asmunderbi.

The donor had succeeded his father before 1184 and was certainly alive in 1197 (see note to no. 109). Ralph, abbot of Easby, occurs in 1173-74 (no. 91), and R., abbot of Easby, possibly the same man, in the time of Honorius, archdeacon of Richmond,<sup>2</sup> who became archdeacon in 1198. Geoffrey occurs as abbot in 1204,<sup>3</sup> which would therefore seem to fix the latest limit of date for the present charter.

(xi) MOULTON

116. Confirmation by Roger, archbishop of York, of the gift which Alan, earl of Richmond, made to Fountains abbey of the grange [of Cowton], and which earl Conan his son enlarged and confirmed; and of the agreement which Meldred and Gilomichael and Elsi de Kneeton made concerning land [in Middleton Tyas]. [1158-67]

Fountains Chartulary, Cotton MS. Tiberius C. xii, f. 316d (old f. 313d). Abst. in *Fountains Chartulary*, p. 196.

<sup>1</sup> Nominative in MS. here and for the next witness.

<sup>2</sup> Easby Chartulary, f. 290.

<sup>3</sup> *Yorks. Fines, John*, p. 91.

Rogerus Dei gracia Eboracensis archiepiscopus universis ecclesie Christi fidelibus litteras istas audientibus salutem. Quoniam ad officium nostrum pertinere dinoscitur religiosorum quieti prospicere et eorum loca pia protectione munire, donacionem illam quam fecit Alanus comes Rich[emundie] ecclesie de Fontibus de grangia . . . <sup>1</sup> sicut filius ejus Conanus comes cum incremento et libertatibus suis carta sua confirmavit, et nos pariter presentis scripti [testimonio] <sup>1</sup> confirmasse sciatis. Convencionem eciam quam Meldredus et Gile[michael de Midelton] <sup>1</sup> et Eils de Cnet[on] de xl. acris fecerunt et donacionem de iij. <sup>bus</sup> [acris], <sup>1</sup> quam in presencia nostra recognoverunt, super hiis testimonium perhibentes . . . [cum] <sup>1</sup> omnibus supradictis confirmantes, sub beati Petri et nostra protectione suscipimus et prefate ecclesie jure perpetuo possidendam sanctimus. Testes, Bartholomeus archidiaconus, Johannes Letoldi, Radulfus Bretoil, Willelmus capel[lanus], Rogerus elem[osinarius], Laurentius, Alanus, clerici archiepiscopi, Gillebertus canonicus de Rip[un].

The confirmation and enlargement by earl Conan of the gift of Cowton grange [in Moulton] made by earl Alan is dated 1158 (no. 45 above). This charter therefore falls between that year and 1167, which is the latest date when Bartholomew could have held the archdeaconry of Richmond.<sup>2</sup>

At the Survey the soke of Gilling included 16 carucates in Moulton, held by count Alan in demesne. In the middle of the thirteenth century it was found that Robert Brudecan of Moulton held half a carcate in Moulton by the service of being lardiner in fee to the earl; he paid 10s. in lieu of service, but the jurors could give no authority for the change.<sup>3</sup> In 1280 Moulton with its capital messuage was among the demesne lands of the honour; the canons celebrating divine services in the castle of Richmond held some land and meadow; the abbot of Fountains paid 10s. yearly for the site of the grange of Cowton; and the Templars held one carcate of land, rendering 10s. yearly.<sup>4</sup> In 1284-85, of the 9 carucates in Moulton, Simon de Multon held one carcate of the earl, the earl held that and five other carucates in chief, the abbot of Egglestone held 2 carucates and the master of the Templars one carcate of the earl in pure alms.<sup>5</sup> In 1316 Moulton was returned as being held by the earl.<sup>6</sup>

## (xii) OVERTON

117. Gift by Clement, abbot of St. Mary's, York, to master Swane and the hospital of St. Peter, York, of 2 acres of land in Overton, rendering yearly a pound of pepper. [1161-84]

Farrer MS., from Chartulary of St. Mary's, York (Dean and Chapter), f. 132d (old f. 36d); abst. in MS. Dodsworth clvi, f. 4d.

<sup>1</sup> Possibly *Cut[ona]*; this and the other references are due to damage at the edge of the folio.

<sup>2</sup> *E.Y.C.*, no. 159.

<sup>3</sup> *Cal. Inq. Misc.*, i, no. 516.

<sup>4</sup> *Cal. Inq. p. m.*, ii, 213. It is evident that the canons mentioned were canons of Egglestone abbey (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1272-81, p. 270).

<sup>5</sup> *Feudal Aids*, vi, 101.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 183.

Sciant omnes qui viderint vel audierint literas has quod ego C[lemens] abbas ecclesie beate Marie Eboraci cum communi consilio et assensu capituli nostri concessi et dedi magistro Swano et fratribus hospitalis sancti Petri de Eboraco, tenere de nobis in perpetuam possessionem duas acras terre juxta rivum qui vadit inter boscum nostrum de Ouerton et villam de Benyngburgh, ad faciendum in ea ortum vel virgultum vel ad construenda edificia si ita voluerint. Reddentque nobis pro eadem tenura annuatim unam libram piperis in festo beati Petri ad vincula. Illud quoque sciendum est quod in supradicta terra stagnum sive piscariam firmare poterunt ad libitum suum, set nequaquam occasionem (*sic*) illius tenure licebit eis habere aliquam communam in pastura sive in bosco nostro de Ouerton. Hoc eis concedimus quamdiu se legaliter erga nos habuerint et prefatum censum bene reddiderint. Si vero contigerit eos supramemoratam possessionem vi vel ratione amittere non dabimus eis excambium. Testibus hiis, Daniele coco, Waltero filio ejus, Pagano de Popilton, Willelmo suo filio, Galfrido portario.

At the Survey count Alan held 5 carucates in Overton, near York. The vill was included in the charter of count Alan II to St. Mary's, York (no. 2). In 1167 "Overton [of] Daniel" was amerced half a mark.<sup>1</sup> The above charter indicates that the abbey was then holding the vill chiefly in demesne. In 1316 it was included in the liberty of St. Mary's.<sup>2</sup>

(xiii) SHIPTON

118. Gift by Savaric, abbot of St. Mary's, York, to Hugh de Rouen of a messuage in Bootham [York] and 2 bovates of land in Shipton, rendering yearly 3s. [c. 1137-61]

Farrer MS., from Chartulary of St. Mary's, York (Dean and Chapter), f. 122d (old f. 23d).

Notum sit omnibus legentibus et audientibus literas has quod ego Savaricus abbas ecclesie sancte Marie Eboraci cum communi consilio et assensu totius capituli nostri dedi et concessi Hugoni de Rothomago et heredibus suis in feodo et hereditate unam mansuram terre in Bouthum que fuit Cliberti monachi, que videlicet mansura habet octo percas in latitudine et a Chiauingdic usque ad regiam viam in longitudine, et super hoc ij. bovatas terre in Shupton, pro annuis tribus solidis quos reddet nobis omni anno ad festum sancti Martini. Faciet autem idem Hugo tale franc servitium pro ista sua tenura quale facit Romundus frater prioris vel Gamel<sup>3</sup> dapifer vel aliquis alius de tenentibus nostris qui libere et honorifice tenent de nobis. Sciendum etiam quod nos warrantizabimus ei hanc tenuram quam tenet de nobis quamdiu possumus eam warrantizare nobismet ipsis. Et si contingerit (*sic*) eum quandoque perdere predictam terram per vim sive per justitiam regis

<sup>1</sup> *Pipe Roll 13 Hen. II*, p. 98. Daniel was probably "the cook," the first witness to the above charter.

<sup>2</sup> *Feudal Aids*, vi, 204.

<sup>3</sup> *Daniel* in *E.Y.C.*, no. 265, which is probably correct in view of his occurrence as a witness.



non dabimus excambium set eum<sup>1</sup> dolente de suo dampno dolebimus. Testibus,<sup>2</sup> Radulfo presbitero de Ric[?ala], Radulpho capellano, Hugone de Marton, Romundo, Daniele dapifer[o], Alberto const[abulario], Willelmo disp[ensatore], Man port[ario], et toto capitulo.

This charter was printed by Farrer in *E.Y.C.*, no. 265 from another text, with several variations and only two witnesses. For Bootham see note to no. 101.

At the Survey count Alan held 6 carucates in Shipton, par. Overton. Count Stephen included Shipton (*Heoppetona*) in his gift to St. Mary's (no. 4). In 1167 Shipton (*Hepeton*'), of Stephen [de Shipton], was amerced half a mark.<sup>3</sup> In 1169 Alfwin de Hippetona rendered account of a mark for himself and Peter and Peter's brother because they did not have six oxen before the king's justice for which they were sureties.<sup>4</sup> In 1316 Shipton was included in the liberty of St. Mary's.<sup>5</sup>

119. Gift by Clement, abbot of St. Mary's, York, to Richard son of Eustace of 2 carucates of land in Shipton, which Stephen de Shipton the younger had quitclaimed; rendering yearly 16s.; in exchange for land near Wetheral [Cumberland]. [1161-84]

Farrer MS., from Chartulary of St. Mary's, York (Dean and Chapter), f. 120 (old f. 19).

Sciant omnes qui viderint vel audierint literas has quod ego C[lemens] abbas ecclesie sancte Marie Eboraci cum communi consilio et assensu capituli nostri concessi et dedi Ricardo filio Eustachii tenere de nobis in feodo et hereditate libere et quiete duas carucatas terre in Shupton cum bosco et plano et pratis et pascuis et omnibus ceteris pertinentiis suis, illas scilicet quas Stephanus junior de Shupton in capitulo nostro coram multis testibus quietas imperpetuum a se et ab omnibus suis clamavit et abjuravit; reddent vero nobis predictus Ricardus et heredes ejus annuatim pro predicta terra sexdecim solidos, dimidium ad Pentecosten et dimidium in festo sancti Martini; hoc prenominate Ricardo et heredibus suis concedimus quamdiu se legaliter erga nos habuerint et predictum censum bene reddiderint. Sciendum vero est quod has duas carucatas terre cum pertinentiis suis eis warrantizabimus quia hanc terram Ricardo et heredibus suis dedimus pro terra nostra juxta Wederhale que dicitur Constantini camera quam per eum adquisimus. Testibus hiis, Goscelino capellano, Rogero clerico de Forton, Adam clerico de Rothomago, Waltero clerico de Hornesey, Johanne clerico de Lamledene, Gervasio constabulario, Gaufrido de Ketelesby, Stephano de Miton, Rogero coco abbatis, Ricardo de Clifton, Alano de Elmeswell, Turgisio dispensatore, Thoma filio Goscelini, Alberto serviente camerarii, Thoma filio Roberti, Thoma lard[inario], Rogero de Batuent, Thoma filio Elvive, Hugone filio Hauthari, Willelmo de Fisshergate, Henrico fratre ejus, Radulfo filio

<sup>1</sup> *Rectius, eo*, as in *ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> *Teste*, MS.

<sup>3</sup> *Pipe Roll 13 Hen. II*, p. 98.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 15 *Hen. II*, p. 40.

<sup>5</sup> *Feudal Aids*, vi, 204.



magistri Paulini, Waltero presbitero filio Lefuini, Waltero filio Stephani, Waltero filio Daniel, Henrico de Benyngburgh, Waltero filio Stephani de Helperby, Wigano de Miton, Thoma filio Wigani, Nicholao filio Wigani, Roberto de Hugate, Roberto filio Gamelli de Miton, Willelmo fratre ejus, Johanne filio Walteri de Coupland, et aliis multis.

This charter is of an earlier date than 1184 when abbot Clement died. In the period 1189-94, Henry dean of York being a witness, Stephen de Shupton quitclaimed to St. Mary's all right in 2 carucates of land in Shipton which he had claimed in an assize of mort d'ancestor against Richard son of Eustace.<sup>1</sup> This Stephen was probably a still younger Stephen de Shipton than the one named above, reviving a claim to the land after his father's death, rather than the same Stephen reviving his own claim. The name continued, a Stephen de Shipton occurring in 1270.<sup>2</sup>

Farrer suggests that Richard son of Eustace was the person known as Richard de Camera, father of Ralph de Camera, and grandfather of Richard son of Ralph de Camera, clerk, who surrendered to abbot Simon his capital messuage, six bovates of land with the lordship of a third part of Shipton and other interests there which he had held of the abbey.<sup>3</sup>

#### (xiv) STOCKTON ON THE FOREST

#### 120. Gift by Geoffrey son of Reiner [de Stockton] to the hospital of St. Peter, York, of 3 carucates of land in Stockton. [*ante* 1175]

Chartulary of St. Leonard's, York, MS. Rawlinson B. 455 (Bodleian Library), f. 228.

Notum sit omnibus videntibus et audientibus literas has quod ego Gaufridus filius Reineri [de Stocatuna]<sup>4</sup> concessi et dedi Deo et pauperibus hospitalis beati Petri Eboraci tres carrucatas terre in Stocatuna cum omnibus que ad eandem terram pertinent, in liberam et puram et perpetuam elemosinam, quietam et solutam ab omni seculari servicio et consuetudine preter forense servicium, quam videlicet terram ego warentizabo predictis pauperibus contra omnes homines. Hanc elemosinam dedi prenominationis pauperibus pro anima patris mei et matris mee et omnium antecessorum meorum, ut simus<sup>5</sup> participes omnium bonorum que fiunt in illa sancta domo in vita et in morte. Hiis testibus, magistro Benedicto cementario, Willelmo albo, Gerardo de Lundoniis, Hugone cementario, Lamberto filio Osmundi, Ingeram filio magistri Benedicti, Osberto cementario, Ketello Westmering, Radulfo presbitero, Petro clerico de Biri, Rogero Nicher, Osberto filio ejus, Gerardo filio Pagani, Lamberto filio Reginaldi, Helia de Wadewrthe, Mildret de Midlintun, Willelmo de Uckerbi, Alano Bigot de Bartun, Alano filio Elinant de Barton, Ricardo filio Thoraldi de Latun, Willelmo de Cutuna filio Jichel, Ricardo de Bretteuill, Elinant de Crachale, Alano de Kerrecan, Willelmo filio Eldredi.

<sup>1</sup> Charter pd. in *Mon. Ang.*, iii, 554, from the same Chartulary, f. 120.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 555. Other charters relating to Shipton are printed there from the same source.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 553.

<sup>4</sup> So in the heading.

<sup>5</sup> *Scimus*, MS.

At the Survey count Alan held 3 carucates in Stockton on the Forest, the other 3 being held by the canons of St. Peter of York. It is evident that the 3 carucates given to the hospital of St. Peter by this charter were those which count Alan had held. The date is earlier than 1175 when Meldred de Middleton, one of the witnesses, was apparently dead (see note to no. 110). In the confirmation issued by pope Eugenius III in 1148 3 carucates of land in Stockton are included among the gifts made to the hospital.<sup>1</sup> But that presumably refers to a gift made by an earlier donor, for the present charter was evidently issued subsequently. Land in Stockton is not included in the detailed list of gifts recorded in the confirmation issued by pope Alexander III in 1173,<sup>2</sup> which suggests that the present charter had not then been issued, and that the original gift had been lost. If this deduction is correct the date of the present charter is 1173-75.

**121. Gift by Geoffrey son of Reiner [de Stockton] to the hospital of St. Peter, York, of a toft in Stockton. [c. 1174-c. 1181]**

Chartulary of St. Leonard's, York, MS. Rawlinson B. 455 (Bodleian Library), f. 228.

Notum sit omnibus videntibus et audientibus literas has quod ego Gaufridus filius Reineri et heredes mei concessimus et dedimus Deo et pauperibus hospitalis beati Petri Eboraci unum toftum in Stoketon, ex omni parte fossato circumdatum, in puram et perpetuam elemosinam, ut simus<sup>3</sup> participes orationum et elemosinarum que in domo prefata fiunt. Hiis testibus, Radulfo de Val[oniis], eo tempore vicecomite, Roberto filio Radulfi, Torphino de Manefelde, Akaris de Halnathebj, Alano clerico de Sindareby, Alano Soldan, Alinad filio Akaris, Rogero filio Fromundi, Waltero de Stoket[on], Willelmo filio Meldred, Roberto filio Elinand.

Ralph de Valognes was sheriff of Richmond and not of Yorkshire. The details given in charter no. 93 show that he was holding office in the period 1174-81.

<sup>1</sup> *E.Y.C.*, no. 179.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 197.

<sup>3</sup> *Scimus*, MS.

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## NOTE

Those place-names which have been identified are indexed under their modern form, with cross-references from all other spellings. Places in England outside Yorkshire are assigned to their various counties, and for each county there is a consolidated list of cross-references. Places in England which are entered in their modern form, no further identification being given, may be assumed to be in Yorkshire; but for Yorkshire hamlets, or Yorkshire place-names of which some further identification is desirable, a more precise location has been inserted. A place-name from which a man drew his surname is given in its modern form where there is no reasonable doubt of its identification; otherwise the place-name is indexed under the spelling given in the text. A de B is indexed under the place-name B. But where A is an unusual Christian name an entry is also given under A, showing a cross-reference to B. Names having a Breton interest such as Alan and Brian are regarded for this purpose as unusual. Names such as John son of Roger are indexed under both Christian names. The heading 'son of' has not been used. Living people whose names occur on the last pages of the Introduction are not indexed unless they occur elsewhere in the volume. Lists of offices and occupations are included in the Subject Index, with cross-references to the Index of Persons and Places.

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## NOTE

The abbey of 'Melerai', unidentified above, can be identified as the Cistercian abbey of La Meilleraye in Brittany, dio. Nantes, lying to the east of Abbaretz between Châteaubriant and Nantes. The modern form of the name is a corruption of Mellerai.

















